1:Takakura : H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6

THE AINU OF NORTHERN JAPAN

A Study in Conquest and Acculturation

TAKAKURA SHINICHIRŌ

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

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Any lengthy introduction to Professor Takakura's work, *Ainu Seisaku Shi*, would be redundant, for in his introduction he states what he is attempting to do and why he is doing it, and his following chapters are based on the assumption that his Japanese readers are not familiar with his subject and thus every step and detail is made as clear as possible. Therefore, the purpose of this preface is neither to paraphrase the author nor to elucidate the text, but to emphasize something the author omits, that is, the importance of what he has done.

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Japan is a conquered land whose civilization, of fairly recent origin, is an amalgam of the cultures of groups of conquerors and groups of conquered. The origins of all these people are in shadow but the accessibility of the Japanese archipelago by sea permits them to have come from regions as far apart as the Polar North and the Tropics. If one forgets the stereotype of Japan as an isolated island chain off the continent and instead thinks of it as a vital segment of the life and movement of Maritime Northeast Asia and

[Text continues bottom of P. 3(B)-Analyst]

records or even was ignored by the historians. This 175
is partly due to the fact that the last great campaigns
were fought in the ninth century when history was only
an official annals dominated by an inward looking court,
and later due to the cavalier treatment usually given to
great events which took place so far away from what
was regarded as the only possible fount of history—
the court at Kyoto and the area of Central Japan. Even 114
in modern Japanese historiography—and the Japanese
have been indefatigible historians—few men have ap- 175
proached the subject. It is as though in American

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114 history the trans-Mississippi West were simply assumed 175 and never studied in detail and as though there had never been a Turner or a Webb or a Bolton. Since pre-war official ideology had as much to do with this lack of regard for the frontier movement as did the difficulty of researching the subject, the end of the war has seen a movement toward restoring the history of the North to its rightful place and we now have, in *Ainu Seisaku Shi*, a carefully wrought major history of the final stage of the conquest, a work which tells us in detail not only of the penetration and settlement of the island of Hokkaidō but one which surveys the history and society of the last resistors to the pressure of 114 Japanese civilization. Takakura's history is therefore much more than "the history of native policy within colonial policy" that he modestly claims. It is a painstaking reliable analysis of a part of the history of Japan which had, for one reason or another, remained obscure until his labors. Furthermore, I regard his work as one which will never be duplicated for I doubt that ever again anyone will spend a lifetime aquiring the specialized knowledge of language, manuscripts, topography, and natives that he did. As a contribution to the history of Japan this is a pioneer study and as a study of the meeting of two cultures, of native and colonial policies, it is a valuable contribution to world literature on the subject. To his work Professor Takakura brought a rare spirit "of anger at the fact that, during my youth, it was apparant that nothing was being done to improve the lot of the Ainu . . . [but] as I pursued my studies . . . I came to realize that I could not solve this problem unless . . . I had an accurate understanding of its historical development." He began the first draft of his book in 1928 and completed it in 1936. He then spent twelve years in revision and in 1948 *Ainu Seisaku Shi* was published.

I read *Ainu Seisaku Shi* in 1950 as part of the work I was doing on the Japanese North. I continued my research until I concluded that only by living in Japan and having access to the materials could really sound research on this particular phase of Japanese history be done. This was out of the question and I realized that a good translation of Takakura would be of more value than any peripheral monograph I might turn out. I set to work on translating in 1953 and, devoting as much time to it as I could from teaching and from administrative tasks, I completed my revisions by 1957. The length of time taken was due in large measure to my concern that a complex subject should be made as clear as translation and my abilities permitted. This meant the solution of difficult passages that could not be glossed over; keeping within limits a gloss that could be as long as the text by incorporating it within the text, and finding accurate equivalents for many archaic and local Japanese words and for many native terms, some of which have no equivalent in Japanese. It would not have been possible to solve the final residue of seemingly untranslatable terms without the help of Professor

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Takakura who not only had encouraged me to undertake 114● the translation but who, at the end, provided invaluable information on terminology.

Only the first 208 pages of the Japanese text plus the entire critical bibliography are translated. At the end of page 208 the history of the conquest comes to an end, Modern Japan is at hand, and the remainder of the story is the sad and familiar one of well-meant but [175] weak and unenforceable protection laws for the natives, native reservations, and the decline of a handful of thoroughly acculturated tourist attractions. As I have already noted I have made every attempt to avoid the esoteric or obscure in this translation. If those without Japanese are to gain from this work it will be because it is complete within itself, and is designed for those with an interest in the history and anthropology of Japan.

Because of my own interest in the subject the prepara- 000 tion of the translation was a labor of love, but there are several people without whose help it could not have been brought to completion and published. I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Takakura Shinichirō, a great scholar who helped in the most cheerful manner when called upon; to Professor Ide Yoshimitsu of Tōkyō University who undertook to check doubtful passages against the original and whose learning and diligence were invaluable; to the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research whose generosity [122] enabled me to purchase microfilms and photostats necessary to the translation and to spend part of a summer in the Library of Congress checking sources and secondary materials; to Dr. Leslie Spier of Santa Cruz, California, who, over the years, has been a source of encouragement in carrying on an esoteric work and who has been instrumental in helping me to publish. Without their help this work would not have been brought to completion.

ON USAGE

Professor Donald Keene of Columbia has remarked 114 that "a translation is a work in English . . . it is not an intermediate step to the original." Any who have struggled through the intricate apparatus of many translations cannot but agree with him. To encapsulate a translation in an impenetrable shell of notes and references, leaving the reader like some minor Mahomet, suspended between the Heaven of the original and the Hell of the translation, is surely not much of a service. I have stripped away as much of the apparatus of linguistic and scholarly credentials as possible on the theory that a translator should be invisible and that his scholarship should be incorporated within the text of a translation. However, there are limits to how much once can "English" as detailed and special a work as *Ainu Seisaku Shi*. While this work is for the interested historian or anthropologist, with no knowledge of things Japanese, yet I have had to keep in mind the small number familiar with Japanese and, in order to balance

[P. 5(B)]

between these two groups of readers, I have retained a great many romanized words and terms. This romanization will provide identity for the specialist but will not interfere with the general reader; English equivalents of all romanized words are given either in brackets or in footnotes. The numbered footnotes are those of Takakura. The lettered footnotes are those of the translator. The bibliography is primarily for the specialist. I don't know of any other critical list of materials on the Ainu and their relations with the Japanese that is of so much value as this one. 114●

There are words and terms which are either almost untranslatable or whose English equivalents are clumsy and long. The equivalent is given the first time the word or term occurs and thereafter the romanized form is used alone. Such terms would be *Basho*, *Chigyō* and so forth. There are certain words so familiar in English usage that no translation is needed. These would be daimyō (feudal lord), samurai (warrior retainers), shogun (military dictator) and so forth. In any case where the usage or the translation itself seems doubtful or indeed in error I should be grateful if this were brought to my attention. Several people have graciously undertaken the laborious task of carefully reading the manuscript and they have made helpful suggestions which have been followed but any error is the responsibility of myself alone.

I also wish to make clear the various uses of the common Japanese designations for the Ainu and their territory which occur in the text. These terms are Ezo, West Ezo, west Ezo, East Ezo, east Ezo, Koshi, and Ōu. 101

Generally speaking, the limits of Japanese settlement stopped in the seventh century at a line which ran from Tōkyō Bay on the Pacific to Wakasa Bay on the Sea of Japan. The entire area to the north of this line was termed Ezo but within Ezo there were several recognized territorial subdivisions. The area which comprises modern Echizen, Kaga, Noto, Etchū, and Etchigo was called Koshi and the remainder of northern Honshu was called Ōu. Ōu was divided into two massive districts. One was Mutsu which ran from Echigo to the Tsugaru Strait on the Japan Sea side and the other was Dewa which ran from north of Tokyo Bay to the Tsugaru Strait on the Pacific side. In the eighth century the Japanese began their push across the limits of settlement and by the end of the ninth century

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 6(B)--Analyst]

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

While the definition of "colonization" varies among scholars, even those who interpret that word in its broadest sense hold the following to be necessary factors: that a social group migrates to a new land and that there they engage in social and economic activities. Very seldom is this new land uninhabited. There are always, with varying population densities and degrees 121

[TEXT CONTINUES bottom of P. 6(B)--Analyst]

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J 121 The arrangement and critique of these valuable experiences, gained over a long period of time not only is of the greatest value to Japan's native policies but will furnish excellent material for discovering principles

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E 101 114 shadows." The union of these two groups in the ancient Japanese chronicles leads to the portmanteau work *Kumaso*. *Kumaso* then refers to peoples living in two distinct areas of Kyushu. At the same time the chronicles which give us this information clearly speak of a third group, the *Hayato*, who probably resided in modern Satsuma province. The assimilation of all three groups left behind in the records an identification of all three under the name of the most warlike and feared and therefore most likely to be remembered, i.e. *Hayato*. Therefore, while *Hayato* is logically confused with *Kumaso* and a sound inference may be drawn that they mean the same, an equally sound inference shows that these two names may denominate three separate groups of inhabitants in ancient Kyushu.

JA 101 114 The term *Eso* is somewhat easier for identification. *Eso*, used continually in this work to identify those people known to the West as Ainu is a corruption of a corruption. It comes from *Ebisu* which in turn comes from *Emishi*. *Emishi* in turn is a corruption of the ancient aboriginal words "*emush*" and "*Yumasa*" meaning literally "sword" and figuratively referring to the great fighting qualities of these people. Now while a keen appreciation of their war abilities led the Japanese to refer to the aborigines by the name of a weapon, the fact is that these aborigines of whom the Ainu are a remains were more properly called the *Koshi*, and the meaning of *Koshi* leads us in its turn through a number of interesting corruptions. Ancient *Koshi* was in the Izumo region and the Izumo people of Japanese legend came into the *Koshi* country in prehistoric times. The *Koshi* were partially assimilated by the Izumo people and partly pressed to the eastward. Those forced to the east are well known in historic times as the *Koshi no Emishi* or "fighting Koshi" and their historic territory included Echizen, Etchū, Dewa, Echigo, Tsugaru, and Hokkaidō, or all of Japan north of the Tōkyō area. Now in time *Koshi* changed to *Kushi* and even in contemporary times the natives of the Kuriles were called *Kushi*. The designation *Kushi* underwent a change of sound first to *Kui* and then later to *Kai*. The fighting aborigines of the Northeast then were known interchangeably as the *Kai* or the *Emishi*. *Emishi* in time gave way to *Ebisu* which is a rather unusual change for while *Ebisu* specifically refers to the *Kai* people, the *Iroha Jirui Shō*, which is the first Japanese dictionary and which was compiled near the end of the Heian period, indicates that all aliens in Japan were called *Ebisu*; yet it was commonly used for merely one group—the *Kai*. *Ebisu* in its turn gave way to the corruption *Yezo*.

The origin of the word *Ainu* seems rather clear, the only point of dispute being whether it is basically of Japanese or aboriginal descent. That is, was *Kai* a designation originated by the aborigines or by the Japanese, for it is from *Kai* that the word *Ainu* comes. When the Japanese came into contact with the *Eso* of the far north of Japan, an honorific suffix "*na*" was added to *Kai* and these *Eso* were called *Kaina*. In time the initial consonant was dropped and *Aina, Ainu, Aino* came into use. Records of the Tsugaru region from the seventeenth century state that Ainu who took Japanese names were distinguished by the addition of *inu* or "dog" to their name and there is a school of thought which believes that *Ainu* comes from *inu*. However, I prefer the more logical *Kai—Kaina—Ainu* sequence, particularly as late Tokugawa records show that *Kaina* was still in use in interior Hokkaidō and Karafuto. One further point deserves mention and that is the question of whether the Ainu of Hokkaidō are indeed related to the Eso of Northern Japan. I think there can be little question of this. I refer the specialist to the third chapter of Kindaichi's *Ainu Kenkyū* where the relationship seems conclusively proven. I

Japan AB1 A
Early Japan AB3 J
Feudal Japan AB2

basic to general native policies. However, the purpose of this book is not to study our policy toward the Ōu Ezo but to limit ourselves to examining those policies and problems concerning the Ainu of Hokkaidō who are, in all probability, a division of the Ōu Ezo. The reason for this limitation is that there are abundant records of the Ōu region which, quite early, attracted the attention of scholars, for Ōu had close connections with the central government and that region was within the pale of Japanese civilization. There are many monographs on Ōu but the Hokkaidō situation, probably because it had little connection with the central government, has attracted little attention and no work of importance has yet been published.[4] 121

I have not only limited this work to a study of our policy *vis à vis* the Hokkaidō Ainu but, within this limitation, I intend to deal with it as a phenomenon in our colonial history, that is, purely as a problem in historiography. I shall consider our historical relations with the Ainu, the problems arising between Japanese and Ainu, the policies undertaken to solve these problems, the changes in the problems as a result of the policies, and I will use all of these factors to uncover that relation between colonist and native which is the basis of a native policy.

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The nature of Hokkaidō as a colony has constantly developed and changed. At first it was but a commercial colony occupying only a small area. The chief objective then was profit from trade with the natives. It then became an exploited colony[5] wherein a small colony of mainlanders half compelled the natives to engage in fishing and hunting and where the natural resources of the area were exploited. Finally, Hokkaidō became a settled colony with a great number of mainlanders permanently residing and engaging in industry. According to Supan's classification, based on the relations between colonists and the natives, Hokkaidō has developed, as the number of mainlanders increased, through the following stages—native colony to mixed colony to resident colony. Accordingly, the native policy changed from one of non-assimilation to

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realize that a footnote is no place to settle lengthy linguistic problems and I hope to discuss these series of derivations later and at length. For the present this brief note on the names *Kumaso, Hayato, Ezo,* and *Ainu* seems sufficient without being wearisome. I am grateful to Professor Ensho Ashikaga of the University of California at Los Angeles for his ungrudging help in unraveling the intricacies of the *Kojiki,* the *Izumo Fudoki,* the *Nihongi,* and the *Manyoshū* in regard to these matters.

[4] A publication of the Hokkaidō prefectural Government, the *SHS,* is the first colonial history of Hokkaidō, but I was so much occupied with articles on colonial policy that I could not touch on native problems to any extent and the "Hokkaidō Kyūdojin Hogo enkaku shi" (History of the development of the protection of the Aborigines of Hokkaidō) therein is merely a chronology.

[5] P. Leroy-Beaulieu, *La colonisation chez les peuples modernes,* Paris, Alcan, 1908. There are varying theories about the terms used by Leroy-Beaulieu. Interested only in similarities, I have merely borrowed the words.

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The above method closely resembles the treaty system used in the United States in the early days when the chief objective was to secure land from the powerful Indian tribes. It was probably used because it seemed the best method for maintaining, with insufficient forces, the Japanese bases in Hokkaidō.

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This reconciliation was the first step toward control of the natives by the mainlanders and the beginning of a significant native policy. Therefore, the first page in a history of Ainu policy should commence from this period. In the remainder of this chapter I shall discuss those problems and policies which mark the 250-year rule of the Matsumae. However, because this is a very long period of time with a considerable change in situations the period cannot be discussed as a unitary whole as regards policy. I have therefore divided this period into halves using two great incidents as limits; the rebellion of 1669 which falls in the middle of the whole period and the incident of 1789 which occurs in the latter half. By comparing the two periods marked off by these events I intend to study the transition of policy under the Matsumae.

But, before going into this policy study, it is necessary to make a study of native life immediately before the conquest of the island by the mainlanders. Such a study will aid in understanding the problems that followed the conquest.

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I. AINU SOCIETY

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It is essential in discussing aboriginal policy to know how the Ezo on Hokkaidō lived just before the early sixteenth century when the Japanese started their activities on the island. There can be used as source materials those ruins and remains presumably used by the Ezo and found in various places in Hokkaidō as well as legends and traditions and the reports of those who came in contact with the natives. But archaeological investigation of the area is as yet too rudimentary from which to draw any general conclusions, and the collection and translation of religious legends, which are comparatively reliable, has not gone forward enough to be of help in this problem. We are obliged then to rely on the reports of travelers as our principle source of information. However, detailed records of travelers are available only from the early part of the seventeenth century and, since it was difficult for the casual traveler to penetrate their social life, and because those who did leave records behind them did not observe some aspects of their life with care, it is difficult to find records both accurate and detailed. When scientists with an interest in the Ainu began to observe and to write, the old way of life had been practically destroyed. However, since the rule of the Japanese over the island came about gradually with many Ainu maintaining their independence it was not until after the turn of the nineteenth century that a decisive change came in the lives of the Ezo. Those records on the life of the Ezo in such

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Those areas
288 177 which had no contact with the Japanese had no knowledge of textile techniques until comparatively recent times.[4]

412 Since they depended wholly upon the Japanese for
the refining of iron, their tools, prior to the importation
of iron in large amounts, were of stone and bone and,
even on the eve of the Meiji [1868–1912] period, stone
and bone tools were the only ones possessed by the
Ainu of the remoter regions. Most of the Stone Age
remains now being unearthed in Hokkaidō are Ainu
remains. The Ainu knew how to make earthenware
323 although in later years both the making and use of
this ware was forgotten as they relied upon imports
from Japan.[5] Bows and arrows (poison arrows and
411 spring bows) along with traps constituted their only
224 hunting weapons.[6] In fishing *Opu* or spears were used
and in salmon fishing a heavy club of about two feet
227 in length called *Isabakiku* was wielded. Fishing nets
called *Ya* were in use but they were merely crude hand
scoops made of ropes of *Shinakō* [*Tilia japonica*—Japanese linden]. They had fish ~~traps~~ called *Urai-teshi*[7]
and in tombs fishhooks of bone have been discovered.[8]
These all are primitive hunting and fishing tools. Clubs,
411 spears, and bows and arrows were all used but the
decisive weapon was the poisoned arrow.[9] Canoes were
501 used for hunting, fishing, and transportation. Those
used on swamps and rivers were three–four-man canoes
but offshore navigation called for a rather large dugout
with boards fastened to the side by vines and operated
with mat sails of coarse grasses and double paddles. Their
556 wealth "usually consisted of dwellings, clothing, ornaments and the simple tools with which they obtained
and prepared their food, boats, weapons and crude
furnishings." This condition accords with that state
described by Engels as the "Lower Stage of Barbar-
114 ism"[10] and even of this wealth they possessed little.
181 The culture of the Ainu can be traced back to Morgan's
"Upper State of Savagery" or, from the fact that they

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[286] [4] Kindaichi Kyōsuke in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 121 ff. "The women did not know how to sew. When *Attushi* woven by alien natives was shown to them they would ask where it was made and when we replied that it was woven by women living in another part of the country they were amazed since not one of them could weave even a basket. They thought that the women who had woven the *Attushi* must be godlike persons." Yamazaki Hanzō, *Mōi Tōkanki* (Narrative of the hairy aborigines of the Eastern region) in *Higashi Ezochi Kikō* (*Etorofuto Kikō*). 1806 [Travels in Eastern Ezo] [Travels in Etorofu Island].

[5] Kōnō Tsunekichi, Hi Koropukkuru Ron (The anti-Koropukkuru argument), *Sapporo Hakubutsu Gakkai Kaihō* 2.

[6] John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, chap. 39.

[7] *Ibid.* chap. 43 [stakes driven into stream beds in arrow head form with point downstream. The spaces between the stakes are fitted with branches while the point is open and covered with a net].

[8] Saisenkai ed., *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei* (Collected papers on the primitive culture of Hokkaidō), 30–31.

[9] *Ibid.*, 47–51.

[10] F. Engels, *Der Ursprung der Familie, die Privateigentums und des Staats*, 66.

114 181 knew how to make earthenwares, the latter period of Barbarism[11] or according to Müller-Lyer the period of the advance from the highest hunting stage.[12] But the Ainu living in the period we are about to study led a much more advanced life.

177 648 The Ainu were not an isolated people. In the north they came into contact with the nomadic Orokko and Gilyak on Karafuto. A strong Manchurian influence was introduced through trade with the Santan across the sea while Karafuto itself was, in effect, a Manchurian colony exerting influence on the Okhotsk coast of Hokkaidō.* To the south the Ainu were continuously in contact with Japanese culture.[13] If it is true, as common opinion holds it to be, that the *Watari To* mentioned in the *SDE* were Ezo who moved from the Ōu region,[14] then the influence of Japan dates back more than a millennium and in fact recent excavations tend to prove this.[15] However, communication between the Ezo and the Japanese had been frequent even before that; that the Ezo were strongly influenced can be seen [172] from the discovery of both Jomon and Yayoi earthenwares in Ezo regions.[16] To the east the Ainu had, from early times, been in contact with the natives of the Kuriles and Kamchatka.[17] The most dominant influence of all of these culture contacts was the Japanese, with the Manchurian second. Japanese culture was higher than the others and the Ainu were in contact with it over a longer period of time and they were closer to the Japanese central government. Japanese contacts with the Ezo were not limited to the southwestern regions but extended also to Sōya and Akkeshi and even to Karafuto and the Kuriles. Under these diverse 177 influences the economic culture of the Ezo gradually improved. The introduction of vegetable fibre cloth [291] completely changed the clothing habits of the Ainu and, while cotton when first imported from Japan was used

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[11] Morgan, *Ancient society*, 10.

[12] Müller-Lyer, *Phasen der Kultur und Richtungslivie des Fortschrittes.*

[101] * Santan was a catch-all word used to denote both the continental area across from the island of Karafuto and the people in that area. It comes from *Janta* or "nomads" a Gilyak name for the nomadic tribes who lived between the Amur River and the sea. The Ainu corrupted *Janta* into Santan and the Japanese picked up the term. The Gilyak lived in the Amur estuary area. Orokko is the Ainu term for the Manchurian tribes that lived on Karafuto. See J. Harrison, Kita Yezo Zusetsu or a description of the Island of Northern Yezo by Mamiya Rinsō, *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.* 99 (2): 96–97, 1955.

[13] Yonemura Kioe, *Kitami Kyōdo Shiwa* (Local history of Kitami), 12.

[14] Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Ainu Kenkyū* (Ainu studies), 367 ff.

[15] Kōnō Hiromichi, Hassabu mura no iseki hakkatsu ki (Report on the excavations of the ruins at Hassabu) and Takakura Shinichirō, Hassabu mura no iseki ni tsuite (On the excavations at Hassabu), *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 10.

[16] *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei*, 21 [Jomon and Yayoi are type names for the stone age pottery of Japan].

[17] Torii Ryūzō, *Kyokutō Minzoku* (Races of the Far East), 304–310.

Feudal Japan AB2

A F *648 177 *175 On every possible occasion the Bakufu persuaded the natives to follow the Japanese way. The importation of earrings was banned [57] while every encouragement was given to the importation of Japanese commodities. The government awarded Japanese clothing to those who did adopt Japanese customs. The Bakufu policy was to select a model native, from the Japanese point of view, and reward him lavishly so that others might desire to follow his example. A [484] The magistrates also made a practice of taking ten or more Ezo to Edo when the rotation period for officials came so that the natives might see for themselves the customs in Edo as a model way of life. This policy was discontinued because of opposition from officials in Edo.[58] The island of

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A [765] ● [114] meant "to strike or to cut." Although there are as yet no research findings which completely clarify the meaning of this word, the article on *Shuto* in *Ezo Sangyō Zusetsu* (written by Murakami Shimanojo and supplemented by Mamiya Rinsō) gives the impression that it was a gesture of purification akin to *Ukaru* (see Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu Keibatsu [Ainu penalties] in *Hōritsu Shunjū*, 6 (3). In my opinion, those cases in which clubs were used during *Ukaru* came to be called *Shutouchi* or *Tsuchiuchi* and cases where the back of a sword were used were called *Mekkauchi*. In olden days the usage of these two terms was confused and *Shutouchi* was called *Mekkauchi* or *Mikkauchi*. To the Japanese it seemed a most barbarous ceremony. It was described as: "Persons who visit the relatives of the deceased to offer their condolences would draw their swords and with the blunt edge would strike once the forehead of the relatives which caused blood to flow. The visitors who had struck the relatives once would then in the same manner be themselves struck three times which would cause their heads to bleed. This was called *Mekkauchi*." (*Ezo Shima Kiroku* [Records of Ezo Island] found in *Gunsho Ruiju* 2.) Furthermore, although it seems that only *Mekkauchi* was prohibited, it is probable that the practice of *Ukaru*, also often used as a punishment, was also banned. Together with dances, *Ukaru* was shown to entertain the Inspectors and in *Ezo Shima Kikan* it states that, "with one stroke it sometimes happened that a person would fall dead or be seriously injured." The reason, we may presume, that this practice was prohibited is that from this period onward nothing can be found which mentions *Shutouchi* which had once been one of the famous attractions of Ezo. *Mekkauchi* remains today only in the form of *Rorunbeapukashi* in which a discussion is held with *Sara Kamui* (the god of disaster).

A [796] [224] [56] The bear ceremony was indispensable to the Ainu who were a hunting people. They prayed during the ceremony for abundant game. (Kindaichi Kyōsuke, Kuma matsuri no hanashi [Story of the bear festival], *Minzokugaku* 1 (2).) However, Bakufu officials by merely considering the superficial aspects of this ceremony in which a bear is tortured to death, proclaimed it to be cruel and prohibited it. Since it was impossible for the Ezo to hunt while this ceremony was banned, the result was that the prohibition had little effect.

A [301] [57] "Articles such as earrings which are against the customs of the mainland shall be excluded from the list of trade goods and the Ezo shall be induced to follow the practices of the Japanese. The same is true of other tools and implements." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 552.

A [484] [56.2] [58] "When we return to Edo this winter, we wish to have accompany us about ten or more Ezo men and women who wish to do so in order that they may see for themselves the prosperity of Edo. These people would then relate their experiences to other natives which would, in our opinion, be of help in altering their customs. The reason for including

BIBLIOGRAPHY

114
113 I have used many materials which are not easily available and to avoid undue complexity I omitted from the text any detailed explanations of the manuscripts which are cited. Therefore, this appendix is not only a bibliographical guide but a supplementary commentary on the text. I am concerned here only with manuscripts and rare books. Manuscripts of minor importance which are in the library of the Hokkaidō Administrative Office are not herein commented on and my selection of rare books is, of course, a subjective one. Basic guides to these materials are:

113 *Hokkaidō Chō Kyūki Mokuroku* (List of old records in the Hokkaidō administrative office) edited by Takada Fujie and myself and published by that office in 1932.

Kokusan Shinkō Hakurankai Hokkaidō Rekishi Kan Chinretsushin Kaisetsu (Comments on the exhibits in the Hokkaidō History Hall at the National Industry Encouragement Fair) published in 1926.

Goryōkaku Nai Rekishi Kan Chinretsushin Mokuroku (List of exhibits in the Goryōkaku History Hall).

Wherever the name of the owner of a manuscript or book is not given then it is owned by the Hokkaidō Administrative Office.

Kōnō Tsunekichi, ed. *Ainu Chōsa Zairyō* (Materials for study of the Ainu). A collection of extracts from old records. Owned by Kōnō Hiromichi.

Mogami Tsunenori, *Akkeshi Ran Moshiage* (Report on the Akkeshi rebellion). Mogami's report on the troubles of December 1799 when Tashanishi, chief of Kushiro, killed a houseboy. Also contains supplementary materials on the chief Ikotoi of Kunashiri who secretly contacted the Russians and on the assassination of Tashanishi.

Kushihara Masamine, *Igen Zokuwa* (Every day guide to the Ezo). 5 books. Records kept on the life and trade of the Ezo by Kushihara who, in 1782, was sent to Sōya in the relief trade.

Matsumoto Jurō, *Ishikari Tokachi Ryōgawa Kikō* (Travels to the Tokachi and Ishikari Rivers). A travel diary for the period June 1875-July 1876. The Kaitakushi official Matsumoto went up the Ishikari River to its sources, then across to the Osara River, thence to the Tokachi River, then to Otsu and finally to Sapporo by way of the Urakawa coast. This was Matsumoto's last journey and the most detailed exploration of the Ishikari-Tokachi area. At the conclusion of this trip Matsumoto resigned his post and never returned to Hokkaidō. Owned by Kōnō Hiromichi.

Usu On Basho Otazune Kajō Shojō (Report on the problems of the Usu *Basho*). A report made by Wakaya Uhiyo, contractor for the Usu *Basho*, on the condition of each of the markets of that area for the period February 1854. It forms part of his collected writings *Bunka Do Osewatasare Sho*.

Urakawa Shichō Sho Shorui (Papers of the Urakawa Branch Office). When the Urakawa Branch Office of the Kaitakushi was abolished in 1874 its record came into the possession of Hokkaidō Imperial University.

Onōdera Tokuken, *Ezo Kikan Furoku* (Supplement to the wonders of Ezo). Onōdera had, by order of the head of the Sendai clan, traveled to Shimaki in West Ezo and written of this journey in *Hokuyū Nisen*. *Ezo Kikan Furoku* treats of the natural products, the people, and the history of Ezo and Karafuto. It contains, in detail, the routes from Matsumae to East Ezo and North Ezo and from

[P. 82 (A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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PREFACE

The lore, legends and customs collected in this book 114 have a pathetic interest as being almost the last echoes 538 to be heard of the old life of a declining and fast disappearing race of men, who have never had a literature and are therefore leaving absolutely no written records behind.

Many of the chapters first appeared in the *Japan* 114 *Advertiser*, published in Tokyo. Several of the subscribers to that paper have been so good as to express a desire to have them in book form, and the author has gladly fallen in with the wish, especially as his former book, "The Ainu and their Folklore," has long [113] been out of print. He only hopes the reader may find as much pleasure in reading these old "Echoes" as he himself has had in collecting them. He first came in contact with the Ainu as a young layman in the year 1877 and has ever since been in very close contact with them. In the year 1879 he joined the Church Missionary Society, of London, and from that time till 1924 remained in connection with that Society. Having then more than attained the age limit, he retired, but is still on the spot, doing what he can privately to help the Ainu on. Dr. Batchelor has also received the very high distinction of being made an honorary member of Hokkaidō Government and is in receipt of a pension in recognition of his work among the Ainu race.

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more spiritualized material, and they have greater 776 powers and are capable of both visible and invisible locomotion. But it is always the true spirit within and underlying any given manifestation which is the true divinity. Thus the gods can even go out and kill one another, as men can, in the sense of driving one another out of their present bodies. But of course these gods—spirits—can immediately take on other forms.

Deceased friends and ancestors are supposed to be 775 present at times among the people they have left behind. Though unseen, they are able to render material assistance to the living, or to afflict them if they think they deserve it. Sometimes they appear to men in dreams, either to warn or encourage them. It is also believed that gods, demons and men sometimes appear to the living in the assumed forms of birds, fishes, bears and other animals, to deliver messages. When their purpose has been accomplished, these return immediately to their proper, natural forms.

As regards dreams, I have seen people go almost 828 mad on account of them, and on such occasions they 775 need a great deal of kind sympathy. A very short time ago, our whole household was terribly upset because one of our servants who had died some time before appeared, so they said, as a ghost and walked about the house. It took quite a long time to quiet them and bring them round to normal. He had broken a pane of glass and got in. And indeed the broken pane was shown me as evidence! Undoubtedly they saved themselves a scolding thereby.

By keeping such fundamentals as these in mind 114 when perusing this book, the reader will be helped greatly to a right understanding. Among much dross in this old-world ore, a quantity of good stuff may be found and many grains of pure gold and brilliant gems of psychic truth picked up by the thoughtful. The whole world is undoubtedly akin and among all races

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

114 there are to be found many points of contact in their psychic and religious beliefs. It is this, in part, which binds us together.

105 There can be no doubt that the Ainu now living are the last remnant of one of the old aboriginal races formerly occupying Japan. They were here when the first Emperor, Jimmu Tennō, and his retainers crossed from Kyūshū to Yamato about 660 B. C. The origin of the race is lost in obscurity. The old traditions, still current among some folk, of their descent from brute beasts are incredible. But their language seems to [197] point, both in vocabulary and grammar, to an Aryan ancestry.

101 The present habitat of the Ainu is the southern half of Saghalien and Hokkaidō. The largest numbers of them are to be found in Hidaka, Tokachi, and Ifuri-koku. But place-names prove them to have once inhabited the whole of Japan. It appears that at first the Japanese called them *Tsuchi-gumo* which, when written with the Chinese characters, means "Earth-spiders." They also called them *Ebisu* or *Emisu* which means "Barbarians." But when properly analyzed, the old name Tsuchi-gumo or "Earth-spiders" comes to mean, in Ainu, "Pit-dwellers." This is exactly what the ancient Ainu of Hokkaidō and Saghalien were during the cold seasons of the year.

101
171 It is pertinent to remark here that many of the place-names throughout the whole of Japan show an Ainu origin. The beautiful Mount Fuji, formerly an active volcano, is one of these, for its name in the Ainu tongue really means "Ancestress" and "Fire Goddess." Fire is always called *Fuji* by this people when worshipped, but at other times its name in Hokkaidō is *Abe*. In ancestor worship, the men always worship the mother of the race in the fire upon the hearth under the name *Fuji*, "Grand-mother." Subashiri, at the foot of Fuji, means in Ainu "Steaming-land."

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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CHAPTER IX

IN THE HOME OF CHIEF PENRI

When at Piratori I always used to stay in the home 622 of Chief Penri and his wife. While there I got a great deal of information from him. He was acting chief of that place, the old hereditary one having died. In studying him I came to the conclusion that the principal requisites of an Ainu chief were a strong, burly frame, a powerful arm, a fierce eye, a ready wit, and a big voice with which to give his commands. And he assuredly possessed these requisites in a marked degree. I have often seen the children of Piratori flee [593] before his fiery eye and bellowing voice, almost scared out of their wits when he has suddenly caught them peeping at me through the door, windows or openings of the reed thatch of his home. I have stayed many months with him in his abode and seen numerous little displays of the art of ruling as practised by him. Woe betide the one who failed to do his bidding!

Having arrived at his place, for the first time, I 114 at once engaged him as my teacher of Ainu, and I 115 must say that I found him very quick at finding out just what one wanted to get at. Yet every now and again we would both lose patience and then sit and glare at each other. When this happened we would start off into the hills for a stroll and I would take my lesson so. It was during one of these strolls that 117 I gained my spurs as a crack shot. It came about thus. As we were walking along under the trees, the chief pointed to a carrion crow sitting on a branch just ahead of us. These birds are inveterate chicken stealers and do great harm in the gardens, so he asked

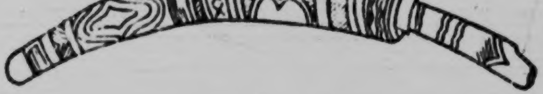
[P. 59]

114 It is said that "confession is good for the soul," so I conclude this account with one of my own. In spite of all our boasted spirituality how prone the human mind is to materialism! How strongly ideas of childhood's days have fastened themselves on one's soul! I quite thought I had altogether outgrown gross materialism, yet, when that mascot—that carved kite—was handed to me, for a moment, I felt with regard to it as I used to do respecting the old lucky-stone and penny-with-the-hole-in-it which I used to carry about in my pocket when I was quite a small boy! Well, my old friend wished me prosperity by his gift and I take off my hat to him. He came to see me but two days ago and told me with great joy that he remains entirely well. I am glad to say he is looking happy and in peace.

777
431 But a quite different kind of charm was given me by a good Ainu friend in my young days. We were about the same age, and he and I were very fast friends and did a good deal of hunting together when we needed food. His present consisted in a small knife in a sheath which he himself had carved very nicely for me. He brought it to me with a letter, a translation of which I now give. He told me that the sheath would bring me good luck.

> My Dear Friend,
>
> I present you with this knife-sheath. When henceforth, Sir, you go to hunt among the mountains, gird yourself with it. When you see a hare or duck, kill them with this knife. I now write to you about knife-sheaths. Consider.

[41]



A KNIFE AND SHEATH

CHAPTER XIX

CHIEF PENRI ON SNAKES

I had not been staying in Chief Penri's home long 752 before I became aware that he had lost the points of two of his toes. I asked him about this one day and he informed me that it was all owing to the spite of a fiendish viper. He said, "As I was walking along a narrow path one day, I suddenly felt a sharp prick in my toes and, on looking down, saw a viper slipping off into the scrub. I knew it had bitten me and that the bites of such creatures often proved fatal. I therefore quickly sat down and with a small knife cut into the ends of both toes and made them bleed profusely. In this way I thought to get rid of the poison. Nevertheless, both members festered and would not heal for a long time. But in the end, although they got better, I was left with the wounds you see." And with a strong feeling of disgust and in a deep, gruff voice he added, "The spiteful fiend!"

I am sure it must have taken a great deal of courage 117 and cool nerve for him thus to sit down and cut his toes, and as soon as I heard this explanation I could no longer wonder at his great dislike to all of the snake kind. Whenever we were travelling together along narrow paths, unless it was after sundown, he always 114 wished me to walk in front to scare away these vermin 784. He went barefoot and unprotected, while I wore thick boots through which no snake could bite. At night, however, he would go first, carrying a piece of smouldering touch-wood along with him, which he waved to and fro sharply in front of his feet, near the

114 784 ground, I following behind. The sparks from the touch-wood, he told me, always cleared the "demons" off the track.

088 Talking of this incident afforded me a fine opportunity of getting all I could out of him about Ainu lore respecting the ophidian tribe, and what follows now is the result.

773 [776] "The world we live in is, under the Creator, governed by the goddess of fire as His deputy. Originally this goddess had her home in heaven above, but was sent down by the Creator to take care of the world. Having heard that it was determined that she should leave her heavenly home and descend to this earth, the serpent, being enamoured of her, desired to come down in her company. Hearing his ardent love, the goddess, trying to dissuade him from this course, informed him that if he descended with her he would be obliged to endure fire, which would be exceedingly hard for him. Notwithstanding all this, however, he declared himself ready to brave everything if only he might be permitted to accompany her. And so, after having received full permission, he came down with her in a flash of lightning. Here he has been ever since and here he is to remain.

"This serpent, descending as he did in a flash of lightning, fell with such mighty force that his fall made a large hole in the ground. Even at the present day some of his offspring who were left behind in heaven, having a longing to visit their father, likewise descend in lightning and the force of their fall also makes holes in the ground.* These holes, when known to exist, should by no means be approached, for they lead down to Hades, which is now believed to be the true home of the earthly serpent kind. The original

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*The holes here referred to are those made by aerolites.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

775 cheated so and so, and you did harm to such a one. How do you account for that?' Then the judged one will begin to deny the accusations or say many things in extenuation of them. If this goes on, God the Judge sends for the Divine Fire and her Husband. The culprit soon begins to tremble and confesses everything. There is no escape and it is not necessary to call the injured party to the bar. God then rewards or punishes according to deserts. The greatest punishment He can give is to cause a person to be frozen up in a block of ice, where the culprit is fully alive but exceedingly cold and quite unable to move. He can see others enjoying themselves, but there is no joy for him. When he has served his time in that block of ice, he is unfrozen and let out of his prison."

829 When I asked Penri what his punishment was to be for getting so drunk and at times indulging in other little misdemeanors, he straightened himself up and said, "As for me, I have been a good chief, and I have no sins. It is not wicked to get drunk. The gods themselves are very fond of whisky. You yourself are the sinner because you will never give one a drink of whisky!"

YAKUT FIRE WORSHIP

● 114 Many years ago a Polish gentleman named Sieroschevski paid me a visit at Sapporo. He told me that he had come down from among the Yakuts,* to whom he had been sent by the Russians as a political prisoner. He had been with these people for twelve years and had made them his special study. This gentleman took an extended journey with me among the Ainu of Hokkaidō, and we spent many an interest-

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*The Yakuts inhabit a territory in north-east Siberia, roughly 1,300,000 square miles in area. It lies north of the parallel of 60 and is colder than any other part of the inhabited globe. The Yakuts number some 200,000 people.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6
Yakut RV2

ing hour together; comparing the Yakut and Ainu A 114
people. He told me that he could not discern any
similarity between the two races, either in physique,
general customs or language. However, he mentioned
a thing or two about the Yakuts' superstitions regarding A
fire, which were of great interest to me. Y

While the Ainu people look upon fire as it exists 372
upon the hearth as of the feminine gender, the Yakuts
hold it to be masculine. The divine spirit, which is the 171
essence of fire, is supposed by them to be a grey-haired 776
and most fussy old man. He is never entirely at rest and is a very garrulous old fellow. The cracking, snapping, jumping and hissing of fire are his remarks and whisperings. What his whisperings and shuffling about mean, ordinary people do not understand, yet the shamans and infants who have not yet learnt to speak understand it quite well, just as they are said to understand what the birds say to one another in their singing and chirping.

Like the Ainu "Old Woman Fire," the Yakut "Old Man Fire" knows what people are saying and doing about him in the houses, so all must be careful not to hurt his feelings, for that would be very dangerous. Rubbish may not be cast into the fire, and one must take care that no leaves or dirt be scraped off one's footgear near it. Nor must the fire be poked with any iron instrument. Moreover, the wooden fire-tongs must be burned up every ten days or so, and new ones provided. Unless these taboos are strictly adhered to,
headaches and general misfortune will ensue. A

A good housewife always takes care that the "Old Y
Man Fire" may be satisfied with her, and she casts 372
into it a small portion of everything which is being 171
prepared for eating. The Hokkaidō Ainu custom is 776
not so. It is the men alone who worship fire among 782
these, and make offerings to it. I have never yet seen an Ainu woman on this island worshipping the fire or making offerings to it. The Yakuts say that as no one

CHAPTER XXVI

THE BEAR FESTIVAL

I have already written on the subject of rearing 527 bear cubs and shown how these poor little beasts are 231 kept in cages, where they are well fed, often worshipped, and at last baited, killed and eaten at the bear festival. And I have also cited a short prayer said by some of the men at the time of the killing.

The ceremonies connected with the bear festival are interesting in some respects, but when I saw one performed for the first time, I must confess that I received a bad shock and took an immediate dislike to the whole thing. It was by no means an uplifting spectacle, and the very name of it still sends a cold thrill through my person. I do not like to see the men and women beastly intoxicated. It is not pleasant to look upon the wild eyes and flushed faces of the dancing and singing guests. At one part of the ceremony, the men not only drink the warm blood of the slain [362] animal, but also besmear their beards with some of it. The sight is indescribable, for it gives them a debauched, unclean, fierce, and fiendish appearance.

In describing this festival I think I cannot do better [104] than give a translation of an account an Ainu wrote out for me in the year 1888, and comment thereon. He told me in the course of a conversation that before the festival takes places a verbal invitation is sent far and wide to the people, something after this fashion.

"I, So-and-So, am about to send away the dear little divine one whose home is among the mountains. My friends and masters, come ye to the feast and we

[p. 205]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

755
278 "Yes," he replied, "the vine must be cut up so fine that all may be swallowed."

I pass this on to the consideration of the foreign pharmaceutical body, and am certain that if only made strong enough and nasty enough, the Ainu would prize the decoction immensely.

In his "Origin of Civilization," Lubbock says," "The king of the Koussa Kaffirs, having broken off a piece of a stranded anchor, died soon after, upon which all the Kaffirs looked upon the anchor as alive, and saluted it respectfully whenever they passed near it."

If these had been Ainu, they would have presented it with fetish offerings as well, and sometimes drunk whisky before it. This is a clear instance of what is named "Sympathetic Magic," and is a species of it which I found running through Ainu religion and superstition in a very strong current. Another department of the same magic cult I found to be very well expressed in the matter of photography. The people did not like being photographed or sketched, and in these respects they were not unlike some other races. But curiously enough, after a year or two among them, neither men, women nor children made any objection when I myself wished to photograph them, or my wife to sketch them, for their eyes were being fast opened, so that they were "coming on."

● 114
784 Mr. Savage Landor was a very clever artist and made some fine sketches of the people, as his "Hairy Ainu" shows. He was so expert at this that one day old Penri asked me if he was not the very devil himself! But Mr. Landor was a wee bit venturesome at times, as well as indiscreet and inconsiderate. He got into a great scrape one day at Horobetsu, for he went to the seashore and began to sketch some more than half-naked Ainu fishermen who were working hard, dragging their nets and cleaning the fish they had taken. They made signs to him asking him to desist, and as he would not do so, they seized his sketch book

and tossed it into the sea. He himself declared that 114
they knocked him down. This was in the year 1890. 784
I suppose it was ignorance of Ainu superstitions which made him persist in his sketching when asked not to do so.

It was an old belief among the Ainu that by sketching or taking their photographs, especially when in a nude condition, their natural life was shortened in some mysterious way. The term they used with reference to it was *Ainu katu change*, i.e., "The man draws near to his form." This is the same as saying "he is getting near to death," or "he is becoming a ghost." Hence Mr. Landor's bother with them. 215 532 291 826

The people appeared to see something uncanny in their mere forms being produced on glass or paper without substance. To speak of the form of a person among them is the same as speaking of his soul, spirit or ghost, sometimes, even at the present day.

Dr. B. Douglas Howard, who travelled in Saghalien for a short time, has given us his experiences among the Ainu who dwelt there. In his book entitled "Trans-Siberian Savages," I find two passages which illustrate the point under discussion, though he does not appear to be aware of the reasons for the Ainu aversion to the camera. On page 95 we read that Dr. Howard brought out his hand-mirror for the instruction of the people. He says: "This, to my astonishment, quickly produced exactly the effect my rifle failed to accomplish. As fast as I showed them their faces, they darted like arrows through the doorway, and nothing could induce them to come back. I do not wonder at it," etc.

On page 96 he writes: "In a very quiet way I have 114
taken a good many carefully selected snapshots with my camera, which included the old chief, the wizard and several other portraits. Thinking I would like to add to their pleasure another entirely new surprise and sensation, and also, perhaps, to impress them fur-

114 ther with my wonderful powers, I took an almost endless amount of trouble to develop a few of them, especially the portraits. Of these, the only one now in my possession is a portrait of the old chief. The worst of it is that my loss of the others is due to a calamity which such immense pains innocently brought about.

826
215
"One day, when several men were in the hut with the chief, I took the opportunity to attempt a surprise and watch the effect upon them as I displayed before them their newly-finished portraits. Instantly they sprang to their feet as if they had been shot. All except the chief rushed out of the hut as if in a rage. The old chief stamped up and down the hut in the greatest distress. Hearing a great hubbub, mixed with wild cries, outside, I went to the hut door, where I found these people, whose gentle virtues I had so faithfully depicted, raving and gesticulating in a most menacing manner. To my utter consternation, I saw that some of them were brandishing sticks, some of them knives—that, indeed, one and all were suddenly changed to savages of the wildest type.

"Utterly bewildered at the sudden change of affairs, yet assuming that the pictures must have in some way been the cause of it, and remembering as I did the effect of the looking-glass upon them, I appealed as well as I could to the chief, exhibited my regret, and tried to make him understand that I placed myself and everything I had in his hands. To make a clean breast of it, I brought out my pictures, my apparatus and everything that pertained to it, and offered to put them all into the fireplace; but there was no fire. Meanwhile, the people outside grew so violent that the chief was obliged to go out to them.

"After a long parley, the chief returned and made me understand that I must carry everything outside. As fast as they could do it, a big fire was kindled in front of the hut. Inao (fetishes) were stuck in the

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

ground all round the fire, and following their intimations, while they stood back in great alarm, I threw my poor kodak, my pictures, all my apparatus, on the fire, and stood there calmly looking on till nothing was left of them but ashes." 215 826

Such is Mr. Howard's very interesting account. In a later chapter on witchcraft, I shall mention clothes-cutting, driving nails into the image of an enemy, and sending other images of enemies to perish at sea as instances of sympathetic magic which actually came under my personal observation. There are other matters connected with this side of the cult which I think well worth a mention and which I got an Ainu man to write out for me many years ago. He wrote thus: 114

"The name for these things is '*ichashkara*,' i.e., 'inclosing in a fence,' and there are several ways of doing it. Should a man or woman have a quarrel, and desire to compass their enemies' hurt by magic, he or she should procure some mugwort and make an image to represent the body. This image is called '*imosh*.' When made, a hole should be dug in the earth not far from the house, and the image cursed and placed in it upside down. 754

"The prayer to be used at such a time should be:

"'O demon who art called "*toipuk-un-chiri*," i.e., "underground bird-demon," I give this image of the person I hate to thee; take the man's soul and carry it together with his body to hell; turn thou my enemy into one of thy own kind, made him a demon.' If this be done, the person who has been cursed will fall sick and die. His body will rot away as the image decomposes.

"Another way of avenging oneself on an enemy is to place the image beneath the trunk of a rotten tree. After having thus buried it, the following prayer should be said: 'O demon, make the body of the person represented by this image to rot with this tree, and let

787 separated the lower jaw from the upper one, placing the latter carefully on one side. He then set the lower part on the top of his head, teeth upward. This nicely arranged, he gently leant forward so as to allow the jaw to slip gradually to the floor. As it rested with the teeth turned downward toward the floor, the daughter was thereby proved guilty; but, should it have fallen with the teeth upward, she would have been declared innocent. She was called *akoniwokguru*, and this means "the person pointed out." But in this instance the oracle went wrong, for the yen was found a little later where the father had most carefully hidden it away himself! I verily believe the old man was angry at having found it, for he did not like having his beloved and thoroughly believed-in fox's skull proved to have played him false. But, like every other one of the lower divinities, the fox is supposed to have a double nature, one part being good and the other evil. And so they sometimes play pranks and practical jokes on people! Especially is this said to be true of the divine fox.

539 754 776 It may be of interest to translate a remarkable Ainu story of a wondrous fight between an Empty-House-Demon and three shamans. The Empty-House-Demons were employed by the people to take care of their homes and property when they were away at work, hunting or fishing. So strong was their faith in these creatures, that it was not necessary to lock their homes when away. The present very fine and typical story shows how careful one ought to be in selecting his own personal devil, being sure to get hold of a good and faithful one. For even among the devils there are supposed to be good as well as bad ones. With regard to all of them it may well be remarked that "he who would sup with the devil must use a long spoon."

114 The translation now to follow is as literal as may be. In some instances the sentences will be found to be short. But they are always very much to the point

117 sponsible for my safety and great care was to be taken of me," they told him. "Oh, that is all right and very kind of the local authorities, but I have a passport which gives me authority to travel that way, so it is quite all right. Don't worry," I said, "but you need not come, for you must not do what the authorities forbid you." And there the matter was left, excepting that I heard the old man sigh repeatedly when he saw me making preparations to start on the morrow. At last, with a big grunt he jumped up and went out. And I saw him no more that night.

At daybreak next morning the chief came to my bedside and whispered, "Sir, I am going with you. I have thought of a plan. I was only told that I must not take you along the paths, but nothing at all was said about the river. I have a boat ready. Come." I was not in the least worried as to my personal safety, even though there were no police up there in those days, for I knew the Ainu were my friends and would do me no harm, and that they were a very gentle people. And so we went. And this is the way in which I first came to know several of the chiefs and my very good friend Tee. I only stayed a short time on this occasion and got back to Piratori without meeting with any fanatics, or accidents of any kind.

114 115 After a few years had passed I went and stayed with the Tee family and had a very happy and enlightening time there. The only drawback was the small smoky hut, for the smoke was, I found, very hard on my eyes. Mr. Tee was a mighty bear-hunter and told me he had taken as many as nine of these fierce animals in one season, all by himself with his dogs. That was a pretty good bag and the pelts brought him in quite a good round sum of money.

231 It was in his house that I gained my first close experience with a bear cub. They had a very tiny one

114 and will give the reader plenty of scope for his imagination.

539 "The people of a certain village employed an Empty-House-Demon. These people had their winter houses among the mountains.* During the summer months these were left empty and placed in charge of the devil.

"One day two large luggage sleighs went from the winter quarters to the summer village to fetch goods. When they started to return they found the sleighs so very heavily laden that before they could reach home, darkness overtook them. In fact, they lost their way. As they went along, the leading sleigh passed through the courtyard of a house, but when the one following got just beyond the door a sound was heard as of someone coming out of the house. What could it be? Was it a devil or a man? Whatever it was, it came and laid hold of the arch of the sleigh and held on fast. Urge the dogs on as the driver might, they could not move, however much they stretched their necks out in pulling.

"The man therefore called to the sleigh ahead, 'The old people of this house desire me to spend the night here and have made it so that I cannot move on. There is no help for it, so I think I will stay over.' The answer came back, 'Very well. If you think so, stay on. It will be all right. As for me, I shall not stay.' And so he went to tell the news to his village friends.

"Then the man who stayed behind said to the demon, 'And so, as you wish me to spend the night here, you have brought my sleigh to a stand. Very well. Perhaps you will hurry in and quickly blow up the

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251 *The Northern Ainu dwelt among the hills during the cold weather for warmth in their pit houses. During the summer they went to the seashore and lowlands to catch fish, which was their "staff of life." The dogs also were fed on dried fish the whole year through. When in Saghalien I saw the inside of the roofs of the houses crammed full of fine salmon being preserved by smoking.

if the devil had gone on forever in this way—would 539
there not have been continued trouble?"

Thus ends this very extraordinary shaman séance. 114
These are the kind of people among whom my lot has been cast. And I must confess that I have had hard times now and again to keep my end well up. Shamans have been after me several times and have tried to mesmerize me, and that in public, but have in every case failed. I, in my turn, have time and again gone after them, but could never catch them at home. The rascals!

6 hear of the Yezo Ainos, the Tsuishikari Ainos, and even of the Kurile Ainos. In this communication the name Aino is applied only to those people who are natives of Yezo. The Tsuishikari Ainos who recently came from Saghalien, and who are undoubtedly the same people but with slight differences in language and custom, will be invariably distinguished by the full name. The so-called Kurile Ainos are wrongly named. This name is given to the pit-dwellers of Shikotan, who are 101 quite distinct from the Ainos. Mr. John Batchelor, of the Church 119 Missionary Society, who has lived among the Ainos of southern Yezo for a number of years, and who has recently published a grammar of the Aino language and is about to publish a dictionary also, contends that the proper name for the people is Ainu. The best account of the Ainos of Saghalien is to be found in the very valuable work of Dr. L. Schrenck, "Reisen und Forschungen in Amurlande," vol. III. It has been said that the word was derived from the Japanese *inu*, meaning dog. This is what the Japanese assert, and they say that the Ainos are such an inferior race of people that they were called dogs. But Mr. Batchelor points out that the Japanese[*] more frequently derive the word from *ai-no-ko*, children of the middle. According to this author the word is not of Japanese origin, but, in the language of the people, means "men," descendants of Aioina. Aioina is the name of the first ancestor of the Ainos, who is worshiped as such by the people, 176 but in English and also in German writings they have long been known as Ainos, and it seems unnecessary to make a change at this late day.

622 Formerly, it is said, the Ainos were subject to a powerful and wealthy chief, who lived at Piratori and received tribute from all the Ainos in the land. This is related by the Ainos themselves. However this may have been in the past, no traces of allegiance to a single ruler now remain. Each village has its own chief and a number of officers who assist him in preserving order and punishing wrong-doers. The chieftainship is hereditary in the family. It has recently been shown 174 by the researches of Milne, Morse, Chamberlain, and others that Japan proper was once inhabited by a race of people different from the present Japanese, and from a comparison of the remains found in shell-heaps and kitchen-middens in many parts of Japan, even as far south as Kiushiu, with similar remains found in Yezo, it is thought that the Ainos once inhabited Japan. The evidence upon this subject seems at first sight rather conflicting, but on the whole it is tolerably conclusive. It is convincing if we consider only the probable, indeed the almost posi- 174 tive, Aino origin of geographical place-names in every part of the 177 archipelago.[†] It is apparently weak if we consider only the very remote relations to be observed between the languages, mythologies, and

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[*] Transasiatic Society Japan, XVI, 18.

[†] The Language, Mythology, and Geographical nomenclature of Japan viewed in the light of Aino Studies. Prof. B. H. Chamberlain.

some saké in the evening. On returning to my hotel I ordered the saké to be sent to them, but the Japanese neglected to attend to it. Consequently when I went to photograph them the next day, just as I was about to take a picture of two old persons, the chief called out from a distance and my subjects turned away. I induced them to pose once more, when the burly chief came on a run, forcibly threw his offending subjects on either side and turned to me with fire in his eye and some very strong language, no doubt, of which I could not understand one word. I thought he would smash my camera, and he might easily have thrown me into the sea. However, by degrees he cooled down and finally he stood for his own picture in a pose of his own, neither graceful nor elegant. But he came on me like a type of a fierce high-tempered savage, such as I do not care to encounter again. 123

There is an account of the Ainos of six or seven centuries ago, which tallies well with the supposition that they were once a warlike people. It is from a report of Mr. Henry S. Munroe, and relates to the discovery of gold in Yezo. According to the Japanese tradition, a party of Japanese in the second year of Genkiu went to Yezo and remained there 13 years washing for gold. The account goes on to say: "At this time the Ainos were a very savage and warlike race and gave the gold-washers no little trouble. Finally after a desperate battle, the Ainos became masters of the field, killing the whole party of Japanese with the exception of the priest. * * * The Ainos emboldened by the victory, crossed the straits in large force and made vigorous war on the Japanese." 175

AINO POPULATION.

In an article published in the Japan "Mail" of January 20, 1888, Mr. John Batchelor has given the following statistics of the Aino population of Yezo for four successive years. His figures are as follows: 162

Aino population in Yezo.

Year.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1882	8,546	8,652	17,198
1883	8,554	8,596	17,150
1884	8,651	8,776	17,427
1885	7,500	8,063	15,563

The cause of the decrease in 1885 is not explained. It amounts to 1,864 and includes 1,151 males and 713 females. I am disposed to regard it as an error in the returns, not at all impossible in Japanese methods. In the course of my own travels I endeavored to obtain definite information concerning the population, not with the view of learning the total number of Ainos in Yezo, which could only be done by visiting all parts of the island, but for the purpose of enabling future travellers to know where the largest settlements are to be found. 114

114 That this is an important consideration was well illustrated in my own experience. No doubt there are officials at Sapporo, the seat of government, and perhaps also in Hakodate, who can give such information, but I was quite unable to get any knowledge whatever as to the existence or non-existence of any considerable number of Ainos on the northeast coast of Yezo. I went to Hakodate intending to sail directly to Nemuro, and to go from there as far as possible to the north, but from the information I received at Hakodate, I was led to change my plan, and concluded to come back along the southeast coast over the well-known routes of travel. But at Nemuro I was so fortunate as to meet a gentleman who had been farther north, and from his observations I was led to resume my original plan, much to my satisfaction; for the Ainos of the south are well known to foreign travelers, while those in the north have scarcely been seen except by Japanese.

162 The population of the places mentioned below was very courteously
361 given me by the local Japanese officials. There may be serious errors
103 in spelling the names of villages, but I have endeavored to convey the sounds as well as I could catch them from the Hokaido Japanese, which it was always difficult for me to understand.

Town or village.	Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total.
NEMURO.				
Hitakai	14			86
Shibetsu		20	20	40
KITAMI.				
Shari:				
Shimatokai	11	10	12	22
Shari	45	62	64	126
Yambetsu	7	11	9	20
Abashiri:				
Abashiri		14	8	22
Kitami Machi		21	18	39
Noyuri		7	4	11
Notori		3	6	9
Nikuribaki		6	6	12
Mukudo		5	7	12
Naiyori		7	6	13
Tombetsu		6	6	12
Miboru		15	11	26
Kakumi		5	4	9
Dapi		9	8	17
Ponkigin		5	4	9
Kimitambi		9	9	18
Yarumi		9	5	14
Tokoro	35	50	56	106
TOKACHI.				
Akkeshi:				
Waktakecho		2	5	7
Matsubacho		61	55	116
Homtomura		2		2
Shiariuwu		12	14	26

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

114 In describing the Ainos it must be said that, unless otherwise stated, the word Aino, as used by the present author, is restricted to the Ainos of Yezo. The importance of this distinction may be seen by comparing the group of so-called Tsuishikari Ainos (Pl. LXXXII), and the single and very excellent type shown in Plate LXXXIII, with the group of Yezo Ainos from Abashiri in Plate LXXXIV, and in the succeeding illustrations. In the Abashiri group the man sitting cross-legged near the the middle [361 undoubtedly belongs to the Tsuishikari type. The latter came from Saghalin 166] in 1875 and settled in the rich valley of the Ishikari to the number of seven or eight hundred. They were visited by Mr. J. M. Dixon[*] [131] in the year 1882. At that time he found them about 12 miles from Sapporo, at the junction of the Ishikari and Toyohira Rivers. When I reached Sapporo in 1888, intending to visit them, I learned that they had all moved to Atsuta, about 26 miles from Sapporo, on the Ishikari. Unfortunately I was unable to visit them, but through the courtesy of Mr. H. Sato, of the Sapporo Agricultural College, I was able to secure a valuable collection of articles from them, which are now in the Museum.

302 The Tsuishikari Ainos differ in several respects from the Ainos of Yezo. The men are distinguished by a peculiar manner of shaving the hair back from the forehead. Mr. Dixon says they also "cut their hair at the back into the neck." The women have bright, pleasing faces, 142 and tattoo the mouth, like the Yezo Ainos, with a broad band reaching 304 well to the ears. Their utensils differ slightly from those found among 415 the Yezo Ainos, and their language is similar, but not quite the same. The two wooden dishes represented in Fig. 60 are quite different from [197] any which I saw among the Yezo Ainos. The one marked 150774 is said to be used as a rice bowl. It is 12 inches in length. The other, 142 150777, is presumably a fish plate. The Ainos are characterized by a strong growth of hair about the legs and body, long black hair on the head, and heavy beards. Writers have occasionally asserted that the Ainos are not generally more hairy than other people, but I have elsewhere shown how such an error might be explained. My own observations of what I regard as a purer Aino stock than is usually seen by travelers in Yezo, have convinced me that great hairiness of the body is a strong characteristic of the Aino men, and the evidence of this is to be seen in the photographs which I have brought home.

The Ainos are small in stature, although rather larger than the Japanese. They are more strongly built, and doubtless endowed with greater powers of endurance. In color they are rather brown than yellow, [515] but scarcely darker than the Japanese. On this point, however, it is difficult to speak with confidence, for they do not bathe or wash, and the natural color of the skin is not often seen. The hair and beard,

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[*] Trans. Asiatic Society Japan, XI, 33-50.

food and raiment, the wigwam is close and smoky, the fruits of the 000
earth are nuts, and acorns, and roots, and grubs dug out of the ground.
To know how miserably a savage lives, one must see him in his house.

A century ago the Ainos were living in the age of stone. They are 181
beyond it now only because they have obtained knives from the Japan- [177]
ese. The stone arrow-heads, which one may pick up almost anywhere,
even in the plowed fields of Hakodate, have given way to heads of [411]
bamboo or iron. At Yeterof I purchased a stone implement for cut-
ting, which could not have been very old. They have no writings, no [212]
records of their past, no aspirations. Their language is still a puzzle,
their traditions and myths are scarcely known except to a few students. [773]
They are incapable of advancement. After a century of contact with
the Japanese, they have learned no arts, adopted no improvements.
The hunter to day shoots the bear with poisoned arrow from a bow as [771]
primitive as early man himself, although the Japanese are famous for
their archery and weapons.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERS OF THE AINOS.

The appearance and general characteristics of the Ainos have already 114
been described. It is, therefore, only necessary to allude particularly 141
to certain conspicuous features, mainly to their hairy nature. For a good series of physical measurements the reader is referred to those of Dr. Scheube,[*] and especially to a very valuable contribution by Prof. W. Donitz.[†] The last-named author concludes that on the whole the results of his observations indicate that the Ainos belong to the Mongolian stock. This conclusion is not sustained by all observers. Dr. Scheube, for example, concludes from the results of measurements of Aino skulls, and from other characters, that they do not belong to the Mongolian type. Their great hairiness, the position of the eyes, the conformation of the nose, the great breadth of the face, etc., are all characters which distinguish them from Mongols.

The most conspicuous feature of the Ainos is their remarkable hairi- 142
ness. The testimony of travelers concerning this matter is conflicting, but we may explain this on the supposition that the observers have not always recognized the typical Aino. Mr. Batchelor says: "I have seen one old man so completely covered with hair that his body could hardly be seen." This was an exceptional case, but my own observations have fully substantiated the results of those writers who have carefully investigated the physical characters of these people. Dr. Scheube relates that he has seen men with hair on the breast 10 centi-
metres in length, and on the back 5 centimetres and over. This subject 141
has been examined by Dr. Hilgendorf,[‡] who, in 1875, made a series of

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[*] Scheube, B. Die Ainos. Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, III (1882), 220-245.

[†] Donitz, Prof. W. Bemerkungen ueber Ainos, *loc. cit.*, Dec., 1874, 61-67.

[‡] Mitth. Deutschen Gesellsch. für Natur- u. Völkerkunde. June, 1875, pp. 11-13.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

141 A few specimens of Aino hairs from the head were handed to Dr. W. M. Gray, of the Army Medical Museum, Washington, who has also been good enough to prepare a series of cross-sections with his usual skill. From these he made some excellent photographs, which Mr. Chandlee has carefully traced in outline with the result shown in Fig. 70. The original photographs showed the hairs magnified 25 and 300 diameters, respectively, but the outlines have been reduced one-half in the cut.

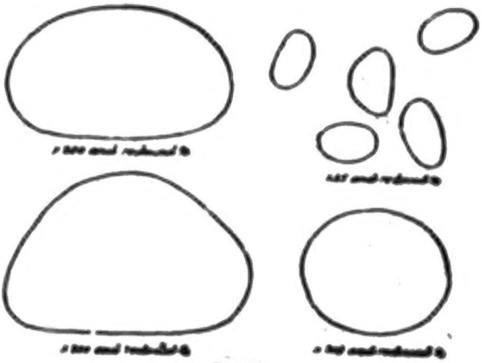

Fig. 70.

OUTLINES OF CROSS-SECTIONS OF AINO HAIRS.
(From photographs.)

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114 This conspicuous hairiness of the Ainos, in strong contrast to the smooth bodies and faces of the Japanese, has led to the natural inquiry: how is it possible that the Ainos should have so long occupied Japan without having left some evidence of an admixture of this character with the Japanese? In the first place, the Japanese are not all alike. Not only do we clearly recognize two distinct types among them, distinguishing the upper or ruling and the lower or laboring classes, but there is also a southern type in Kiushiu, with more or less hair on the face, many having full beards. It is worthy of remark, in passing, that these men have always been, and still are, among the ablest and most influential men in Japan. Professor Chamberlain has observed that the Japanese in northern Japan and in Yezo, where there would naturally be found the greatest admixture of blood, are no more hairy than those farther south. The explanation of this he finds in the fact that the half-castes die out. Such families end with the third or fourth generation, and the progeny show a marked tendency to baldness. The children of Japanese and Aino parents are never vigorous and healthy. 582

I have a photograph in my collection of a young man with a distinctly Japanese physiognomy, whose body and face are as smooth and free from hair as the Japanese, but whose lower limbs are black with hair.

342 Scheube, Batchelor, and others. I am inclined to regard this as purely a matter of convenience or habit. Mr. Batchelor should be able to tell us whether the Ainos consider the points of the compass in these matters. I would only point out that what he and others have told us
[114] concerning the dwellings of the Ainos in the south, does not hold for those living on the northeast coast.

The houses represented in Plates XCVIII to CIII are typical Aino houses. This statement is made with entire confidence, as the result of extended travel through the country. On some parts of the island the thatch is put on with more care, as at Uragawa, for example, where the reeds are in overlapping layers, or, as Dr. Scheube says of the houses near Horobetsu, the only region of importance for Aino studies that I did not visit, of reeds laid on in a terrace-like manner.

The house figured by Dr. Scheube is by no means a usual form, although probably it does prevail in that part of the island where he visited the Ainos, around Volcano Bay, for he says: "The houses only differ one from another in size." Of these houses Dr. Scheube says that their length runs east and west. With exception of the west side, there is a window on each side, which may be closed with a reed mat. I am not prepared to maintain that the Ainos have no regard to the points of the compass in setting up the sacred relics, symbols, *inao*, etc., in particular parts of their houses, but I doubt very much if they do have. As already stated, Dr. Scheube and other writers tell us that the household treasures are kept in the northeast corner. But so far as I have been able to discover, no writer has given a reason for these customs, although they all leave one to infer that they are general and invariable.

STOREHOUSES.

343 The Aino storehouses are very much alike throughout the island. They are shown in Plates XCVIII, CI and CII and require no particular description. They are raised on posts about 6 feet above the ground to be secure from the attacks of wild animals. They are filled with dried fish, vegetables, and other articles of food.

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS AND FOOD.

445 Doubtless there was a time, not very long ago, when the Ainos ate
[264] with their fingers and had no better dishes for their food than such as they still make of bark. Fig. 72 represents a large dish made of bark, such as are in common use. The one numbered 150673 is 14 inches in length by 13 inches wide, and is used for fish. But precisely the same kind of dishes are made much smaller—not more than 4 inches long. The common water-bucket and dipper are also made of bark, as shown
[177] in Fig. 73 [150668]. They have since learned to use Japanese knives, however, and they make a variety of wooden plates, which they deco-
000 rate with characteristic carved patterns (Fig. 74). Wooden spoons

The height of the monuments varies from 3 to 6 feet, and depends 764
upon the age and position of deceased. Monuments for women are [562]
plain posts, not so high as those accorded to men.

Mourning customs vary greatly in different parts of the island. The 765
period of mourning may last three days, or as many years. This is a
subject concerning which little seems to be known. Formerly it was
the custom to burn the houses of the dead, but this is no longer done
in Yezo.

PUNISHMENTS.

In the museum at Sapporo there is a collection of clubs, carved in 681
rough relief, which the Ainos use in punishing wrong-doers. Their
punishments are severe, but they do not take life, even for the crime of
murder. The murderer is bound to a cross for a week, and, after his [682]
release, receives some good advice from the judge, when he again takes
his place as an honorable citizen.

The clubs are used for punishing thefts and other crimes. The pris-
oner is stripped to the waist, and heavy blows are delivered upon the
bare back. The Ainos also have certain trials to prove the innocence [695]
or guilt of the accused person, such as the trial by hot water, in which
a stone must be picked from the bottom of a kettle of boiling water,
and the trial by a heated iron, which is supposed not to burn the flesh
of one wrongly accused. Mr. Batchelor states that a murderer has his [682]
nose and ears cut off, or the tendons of the feet severed. These cruel
punishments are undoubtedly old practices no longer in vogue, although
one can not speak very confidently as to the cause of their discontinu-
ance, unless it be due to Japanese control. H. von Siebold has sup- 114
posed, from these old customs that the Ainos were once a savage and
warlike people. They may have been so, as one might infer from Jap-
anese tradition, but it seems to me unsafe to make the assumption on
the grounds suggested by Von Siebold. Their present character does
not sustain it in any way. Sympathy, regard for physical suffering of
others, are not early developments in human character. Lingering
traces of savage heartlessness and cruelty are still recognized in the
practices of our own children.

HUNTING AND FISHING.

Wild animals, as bears, deer, foxes, and many others, abound in the 224
Yezo forests, while the sea yields an abundance of fish of an excellent [136]
quality. The Ainos are brave hunters, and they are largely dependent
on the chase for their animal food and winter clothing. Their hunting
implements, however, are of the rudest description. The bears of Yezo,
which are the same as the brown or grizzly bear of North America,
are large and dangerous. At certain seasons they do not hesitate to
attack man, even entering the dwellings in search of food. These fe-

ter as to be worthy of a full description; but, since I was unable to be 776 present at a celebration myself, I can do no better than to give a rather full account of the ceremonies as witnessed by Dr. Scheube,* who has published the only complete description yet given by an eye witness. The original article is rather long, but in somewhat condensing the description it is believed that no detail of importance or significance has been omitted.

Before entering upon a description of the festival the bear-cage and 343 *nusha kamui* should be noticed. The bear-cage is represented in Plate CXIII. The cages are all of this general form, built of logs notched at the ends so as to hold securely together. The bear sometimes makes most strenuous efforts to free himself by scratching and gnawing with his teeth through the tough, heavy rails, so that it becomes necessary to take out the old ones and replace them with others. This is easily done, for, owing to the manner of putting the cage together, any rail can be replaced by prying up those above it.

I saw many such bear-cages in the course of my travels in Yezo, but it is said that they are less numerous now than they formerly were. The *nusha kamui*, or sacred hedge, already referred to, is represented in 778 Plate CXII, from a photograph taken at Urap. It is also shown in some of the succeeding plates. This rude hedge of rough poles is an important structure in connection with the ceremony about to be described, as well as in other religious observances. The significance of the name is not exactly "temple," but it is the nearest approach to "temple" in the Aino language. Before it prayers are recited to most of the gods, although not to all, as we shall see. It is here designated "sacred hedge" for convenience.

Dr. Scheube witnessed the bear feast in 1880, and his account reads 114 substantially as given below. Plates CXIV to CXVII, illustrating the ceremonies at the bear feast, are reproductions of Japanese drawings, from a makimono formerly belonging to Mr. Edward Greey, now in possession of the Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Dr. G. Brown Goode. Dr. Scheube has given two illustrations of the ceremony, which are substantially the same, although in one picture the crushed bear has his head directed toward the sacred hedge, while the men sit with their backs against the hedge. Perhaps there is no established custom in the matter, and such incidental changes are of no significance.

THE BEAR CULTUS OF THE AINOS.

[Condensed from Dr. B. Scheube.]

According to the accounts of travelers concerning the Ainos, the 825 bear is honored by this peculiar people as a god. But it would be an 776

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* Der Bärencultus und die Bärenfeste des Ainos, mit einigen Bemerkungen über die Tänze derselben. Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, Dec., 1880.

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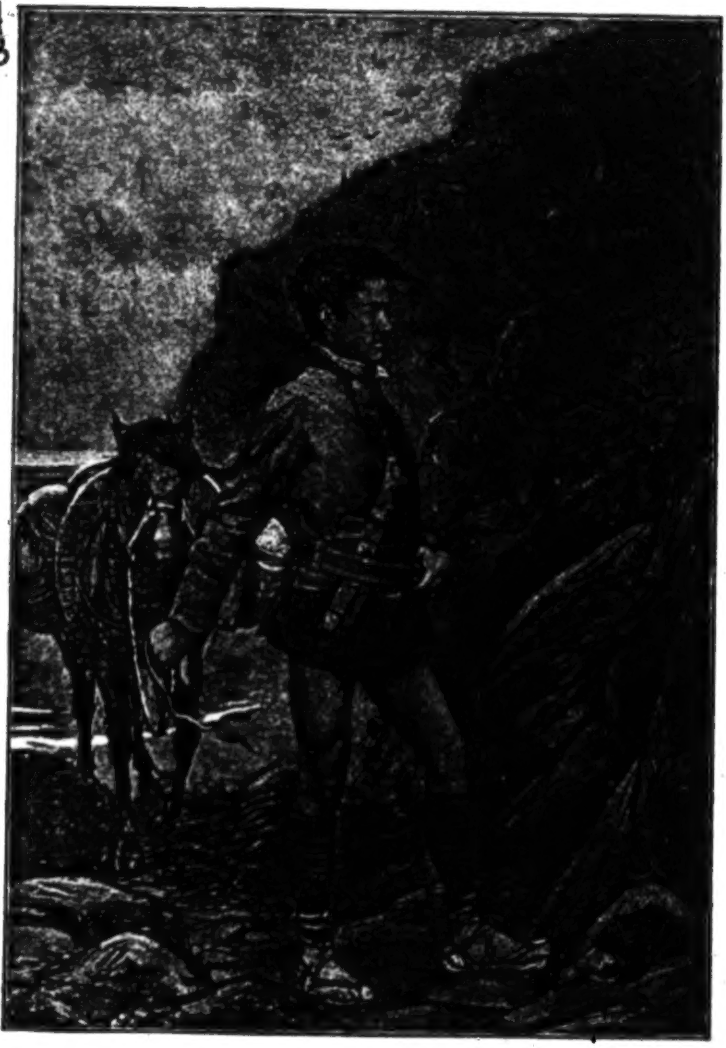

[*Frontispiece.*

PORTRAIT OF THE AUTHOR.

"When my clothes came to an end I did without them."

[Frontispiece]

[Facing Title page] [p. iv]

[p. i – iii are blank]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

PREFACE.

THIS book is not meant as a literary work, for I am not 121
and do not pretend to be a literary man. It is but a record—an amplified log-book, as it were—of what befell me during my solitary peregrinations in Hokkaido, and a collection of notes and observations which I hope will prove interesting to anthropologists and ethnologists as well as to the general public.

Without any claim to infallibility I have tried to take an open-minded and sensible view of everything I have attempted to describe; in most cases, however, I have given facts without passing an opinion at all, and all I have said I have tried to express as simply and plainly as possible, so as not to give rise to misunderstandings.

There are a few points which I want to make quite clear. 114

First, that I went to Hokkaido entirely on my own account and for my own satisfaction. Next, that I accomplished the whole journey (some 4200 miles, out of which 3800 were ridden on horseback and on a rough pack-saddle) perfectly alone. By alone I mean that I had with me no friends, no servants, and no guides. My baggage consisted of next to nothing, so far as articles for my own convenience or comfort were concerned. I carried no provisions and no tent.

I am endowed with a very sensitive nature, and I pride myself in possessing the gift of adaptability to an extreme degree, and this may partly explain why and how I could live so long with and like the Ainu, whose habits and customs, as my readers will see, are somewhat different to ours.

When I go to a country I do my best to be like one of the 123
natives themselves, and, whether they are savage or not, I endeavour to show respect for them and their ideas, and to conform to their customs for the time being. I make up my mind that what is good for them must be good enough for me, and though I have occasionally had to swear at myself

[P. ix]

123 for "doing in Ainuland as the Ainu does," especially as regards the food, I was not much the worse for it in the end. I never use force when I can win with kindness, and in my small experience in Hokkaido and other countries I have always found that real savages in their simplicity are most "gentleman-like" people. With few exceptions they are good-natured, dignified, and sensible, and the chances are that if you are fair to them they will be fair to you. Civilised savages and barbarians I always found untrustworthy and dangerous.

131 The Island of Yezo, with the smaller islands near its coast, and the Kurile group, taken together, are called "the Hokkaido." The Hokkaido extends roughly from 41° to 51° latitude north, and between 139° and 157° longitude east of Greenwich.

101 My view of the origin of the word Ainu is this: *Ainu* is but a corruption or abbreviation of *Ai-num*, "they with hair," or "hairy men," or else of *Hain-num*, "come with hair," or "descended hairy." Considering that the Ainu pride themselves above all things on their hairiness, it does not seem improbable to me that this may be the correct origin of the word, and that they called themselves after the distinguishing characteristic of their race.

101 102 The word Ainu is a generic term, and is used both in the singular and plural; but when specifying, the words *Kuru* (people, men), *utaragesh* (woman), etc., are generally added to it: viz., *Ainu kuru*, Ainu people, Ainu men; *Ainu utaragesh*, an Ainu woman; *Ainu utaragesh utara*, several Ainu women.

162 The Ainu population of Yezo is roughly reckoned by the Japanese at about 15,000 or 17,000 souls, but at least half this number are half-castes, and in my opinion (and I have visited nearly every Ainu village in Yezo) the number of thoroughbred Ainu does not exceed 8000 souls.

• 114 The illustrations in this book are my own, and are the reproductions from sketches which I took on the spot. They may not show much artistic merit, but they seem to me to be characteristic of the country and the people, and I hope that my readers will be impressed with them in the same way.

A. Henry Savage Landor.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

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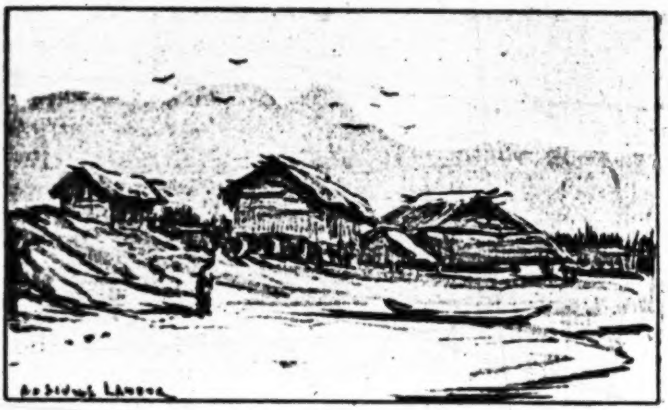

APUTA.

CHAPTER I.

From Hakodate to Mororran—Volcano Bay—The first Ainu—A strange Institution among them.

I HAVE often asked myself *why* I went to Yezo; and, when there, what possessed me to undertake the laborious task of going round the island, up its largest rivers, travelling through jungles and round lakes, climbing its highest peaks, and then proceeding to the Kuriles. There are certain things in one's life that cannot be accounted for, and the journey which I am going to relate is one of them. 114

Pleasure and rest were the two principal objects which had primarily induced me to steer northwards; but it was my fate not to get either the one or the other.

I was on the Japanese ship the *Satsuma Maru*. Rapidly nearing the Hakodate Head, which we soon passed, we entered the well-protected bay and the town of Hakodate at the foot of the Peak came into view. It looked extremely pretty, with its paper-walled houses and its tiled roofs, set against the background of brown rock with its fringe of green at the foot. As we cast anchor, hundreds of coolies, carrying on their backs loads of dried fish and seaweed, were running along the *bund* or wharf. A few *musemes* (girls), in their 000

[p.1]

pretty *kimonos* (gowns) and with oil-paper umbrellas, were toddling along on their wooden clogs, and a crowd of loafers stood gazing at the ship as she came to anchor. The Peak, more than 1000 feet high, was towering on our south side, forming a peninsula, joined to the mainland by a sandy isthmus, and the large bay swept round us, forming nearly a circle. The place has a striking resemblance to Gibraltar.

I landed, and put up at a tea-house, where I was in hopes of learning something regarding the island from the Japanese settlers, but no one knew anything. The reports that there were no roads extending beyond a few miles; that there was but very poor and scarce accommodation along the coast; that the Ainu, who lived further north, were dirty people; and [136] that the country was full of bears, were certainly not encouraging to an intending traveller.

I must confess that my first day in Yezo was a dull one; but the second day I had the pleasure of meeting a Mr. H., a resident, who kindly offered me his hospitality, and the next two were pleasantly spent at his house. In conversation with a friend of his, I heard the remark that no man alone could possibly complete the circuit of the island of Yezo, owing to the difficulties of travel; and my readers can imagine the astonishment of my interlocutors when I meekly said, that if no one had ever done it, I was going to do it; and, indeed, that I intended to set out alone the next morning.

"Impossible!" said one, "you are too young and too delicate."

"Absurd!" said my kind host, "it would take a very strong man to do it—a man who could stand any amount of hardships and roughing." At the same time he gave me a pitiful look, which undoubtedly meant, "You are a mere bag of skin and bones."

However, the bag of skin and bones kept his word, notwithstanding the poor opinion that his new friends had formed of him.

122 The preparations for my journey were simple. In two
114 large Japanese baskets I packed three hundred small wooden panels for oil-painting, a large supply of oil colours and brushes, a dozen small sketch-books, my diary, three pairs of boots, three shirts, an equal number of pairs of woollen

stockings, a revolver, and a hundred cartridges. The remainder of my luggage was left in charge of Mr. H. till my return. I did not burden myself with either provisions or a tent. 182 114

I rose early the following morning and bade good-bye to my kind host. "Good-bye," said he, "I expect we shall see you back to-night to dinner." The word "dinner" was the last English word I heard from the mouth of an Englishman, and it was five long months before I heard another. 000

The first thirty miles of my journey were ridden in a *basha*, a covered cart built on four wheels that ought to have been round, but were not. There were no springs for the comfort of the traveller, and no cushions on the seats. The conveyance was public, and was drawn by two sturdy ponies. The driver, a Japanese, carried a brass trumpet, on which he continually played.

I might have begun my story by the usual "One fine day," if, unfortunately, the day on which I started the rain had not poured in torrents. A Japanese policeman and a girl were my only fellow-passengers. Travelling at full gallop, on a rough road, in a trap with unsymmetrical wheels and with no springs, during a heavy storm, is scarcely what one would call a pleasant mode of progression; but after some hours of "being knocked about," we went zig-zag fashion, first up a steep hill, then down on the other side, giving the horses a rest at a roadside tea-house by the famous lakes of Zenzai. The larger 133 of these two lakes—the Ko-numa—is extremely picturesque, with its numerous little islands wooded with deciduous trees. In shape it is very irregular, and many points, which project into the lake, add to the loveliness of the scene, while the high ridge over which I had come, on the one side, and the rugged volcano of Komagatake on the other, form a beautiful background to the limpid sheet of water. The outlet of this lake empties itself into Volcano Bay, S.E. of the Komagatake Volcano. The other lake, though smaller, is quite as striking, and possesses the same characteristics of its larger brother. It goes by the name of Ono-numa. A peculiarity of these lakes is that they abound in a smallish fish—the *funa*—which is greatly appreciated by the Japanese.

I sat down in the tea-house on the soft mats, and my *bento* 000 a grand appearance to its weird and sterile slopes, which are covered with warmly-tinted cinders, pumice, and lava. 133

I went over to Mororran, across Volcano Bay, and the following morning I risked my life on a small craft, which took me over to Mombets. From this place I rode on to Uso and Aputa, two Ainu villages at a short distance from each other.

Coming from Japan the first thing that strikes a traveller in the Ainu country is the odour of dried fish, which one can smell everywhere; the next is the great number of crows—the scavengers of the country; lastly, the volcanic nature of the island. On visiting an Ainu village what impressed me most were the miserable and filthy huts, compared with the neat and clean Japanese houses; the poverty and almost appalling dirt of the people and their gentle, submissive nature. 114 ● [251] 511

I shall not dwell at length on these Volcano Bay Ainu, as this part of the country is comparatively civilised, and has been travelled over by many people previous to my going there. Besides, most of them have intermarried with Japanese, and have consequently adopted many Japanese customs and manners. 197

The Ainu of the coast build their huts generally on a single line, near the shore, and each family has its "dug out" canoe drawn up on the beach, ready to hand when wanted. The huts are small and miserable-looking, and they have no furniture or bedding to speak of. The roof and walls are thatched with *arundinaria*, but so imperfectly that wind and rain find easy access through their reedy covering. Curiosity is the only good quality which I ever possessed, and in obedience to it I poked my nose into several of the huts along the beach. This was a mistake on my part, for in the Ainu country the nose is the last thing one ought to poke in anywhere. I was more than astonished to see how human beings could live in such filth! The natives kindly asked me to enter, and I of course did so, stooping low through the small door and raising the mat which protects the aperture. When I was in I could smell a great deal more than I could see, for the east window—the size of a small handkerchief, and the only one in the hut—did not give light enough to illuminate the premises. However, I soon got accustomed to the dimness, and then I could make out my surroundings clearly enough. 361 342 [574] [609]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

000 excited fishermen. Myriads of sardines are caught each time the net is hauled in; and it is a fantastic scene to see the naked crowd which, in clearing the nets from the beheaded fish, get covered with silver scales, which stick to their arms, legs, and body, and give them a strange appearance.

Look-out towers are built on four high posts, where a watchman is posted to signal the arrival and approach of the shoals. The sea is so dense with them that it changes its colour, and these moving banks of sardines are distinguishable four or five miles from the coast. This method is the same as that adopted in Cornwall when the pilchards are expected, and the same discoloration of the sea takes place.

From Tomakomai a road branches to the north leading to Sappro, the capital of Hokkaido, and it is the last place on the southern coast which is visited by that rare specimen of the globe-trotter who ventures to Yezo. He hastily makes his way from here to Sappro and Otaru on the northern coast, and waits for a ship to be conveyed back to Hakodate. He then, of course, tells his friends that he has been round and
● 114 about and through Yezo, while in fact he has seen absolutely nothing of Yezo or its inhabitants. About half-a-dozen Europeans, however, have been further on—as far as the Saru River; and each one has written a book on the Ainu, for the most part copying what the previous author had written.

000 As far as Tomakomai there is a road—a sure sign of civilisation—but nothing but a horse-track is to be found all along the southern coast after this place has been passed.

Changing my ponies at Yuhuts,[1] nine miles east, and again at Mukawa and Saru-buto, I was able to reach Saru Mombets that same night. Many Ainu and Japanese fishermen's huts
[361] are scattered between Horohuts[2] and Yuhuts, on the sandy track along the sea.

The traveller then leaves the sea on the right, and by a very uneven track, and after fording several rivers of little importance comes to Mukawa, a dirty little village fourteen miles from Yuhuts. My lunch that day consisted of a large piece of raw salmon, which was easily digested in riding nine more miles to Saru-buto. *Sharu* in Ainu, corrupted into Saru,

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[1] *Yu*, springs; *huts*, mouth of river.

[2] *Horo*, large; *hut*, *huts*, *put*, the mouth of a river.

I was told here again that Ainu women often suckle small 231 bears at their breasts so as to fatten them up for the festival; and one not infrequently sees the women in Ainu households chewing food, and letting the young cub take it from their lips.

These Ainu are much more interesting as types, and also 114 much purer in race, than either the Piratori or the Volcano 144 Bay Ainu. A learned missionary, who has not himself visited these people, writes as follows regarding them:—"The Ainu of 127 the Tokapchi district, in Yezo, are spoken of as having been particularly addicted to this kind of warfare (night raids against each other, in which the men were murdered, and the women stolen and used as slaves or kept as concubines), and are even now held in abhorrence by the people of some villages. They are said not only to have murdered people, but also to have eaten some of them. They were, therefore, 266 cannibals, and I have heard them spoken of as 'eaters of their own kind.'"[1]

From my own personal experience—and I may add I am the 157 only foreigner who has seen these Tokachi, or as others call 181 them, Tokapchi Ainu—I came to a conclusion very different from this. I found that not only were they not cannibals, but 266 that, taken altogether, they were the most peaceable, gentle, and kind Ainu I came across during my peregrinations through the land of the hairy people. Indeed, I am sorry to say that it is not savagery that makes the Ainu bad, but it is civilisation that demoralises them. The only place in Yezo where I was actually ill-treated by Ainu, as my readers will remember, is the village where they were said to be "very civilised."

I have no wish to force my opinion on the public as the correct one. I do but describe what I have actually seen in a district in which others who have written on this subject have never set foot, and I leave it to my readers to judge who has most claim to be heard.

The language of the Tokachi Ainu varies considerably from 197 the language spoken in more civilised districts, and none of 184 the natives up the river could speak Japanese when I was there.

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[1] Rev. John Batchelor, 'The Ainu of Japan,' chap. xx.

the Ainu and the Koro-pok-kuru were two distinct races, 172
it would be interesting to know who the latter really were, and
what became of them. A learned missionary, Mr. Batchelor, 172
writing on this subject, says:—"But I am of opinion that 114
these pit-dwellers were closely allied to the Ainu in descent,
and that the remains of them may now be seen in Shikotan 144
and other islands of the Kurile Group. The inhabitants of
Shikotan are much shorter in stature than the Ainu of Yezo.
They are not so good-looking, and are said to be a very
improvident race. The Ainu look upon the Kurile Islanders
as the remnants of the Koro-pok-gurus; but this is a mere
opinion, to be adopted or rejected at pleasure. That they
are pit-dwellers *is quite certain*, for *they live in pits* at the
present day."

Before being so certain as to what he was stating, it would 114
have been well had the writer of the above lines visited the
island in question. He would not then have committed so
many blunders in so few lines. The inhabitants of Shikotan 141
are *not* shorter than the Ainu of Yezo, and I cannot give 184
a better proof of this than by asking my readers to compare
the measurements which I took while there with the measurements of the Yezo Ainu. The medium height of the
Shikotan Ainu is between sixty-one inches and sixty-two
and three-quarter inches; the medium height of the Yezo
Ainu is between sixty-one inches and sixty-two and three-quarters, or exactly the same. The chest inflated measures
thirty-seven and a half inches with the Shikotan Ainu, and
thirty-seven and a half with the Yezo Ainu, while the spinal
column is only twenty-four inches with the Shikotan Ainu,
and about twenty-six and three-quarters with the Yezo Ainu.

The Shikotan Ainu have the same structural peculiarity as the Yezo Ainu, namely, the length of their arms, which peculiarity, by the way, is greatly accentuated with them. The humerus is much longer than with the Yezo Ainu, while the ulna and radius are shorter; the hand is the same length. A Shikotan Ainu with outstretched arms is generally the length of one hand longer than his own height, which is more than is usually found with the Yezo Ainu. The medium foot is nine and a half inches with both Ainu. In the Ainu the tibia is rather flattened at its angular part, but the Shikotan

141 Ainu have a nearly circular tibia. I do not know of any other 184 existing race in the world in which such an extraordinary phenomenon occurs, and the tibia struck me also as being extremely long, while the femur appeared proportionately short. However, with the exception that the tibia is more circular than with the Ainu of Yezo, I could not see any material difference between them and the other Ainu. As we 184 have already seen, each tribe in Yezo has certain characteristics which other tribes have not; each tribe has conformed its habits to the climate of the district in which it lives, as well as to other circumstances; and each of these tribes has adopted a slightly different architecture for its dwellings; but it is plain that all belong to the same original race. The same might be said of the Shikotan Ainu. At this point it is well to explain that the Kurile Islands not many years ago belonged to Russia; but they were exchanged for the southern half of Sakhalin, then belonging to Japan, and now form part of the 361 Japanese Empire. The two larger islands—Kunashiri and Etorofu—are inhabited mainly by Ainu and a few Japanese, 162 who migrate there from Yezo during the fishing season; while the Island of Shikotan is inhabited by sixty Ainu, brought there from the northern islands of Shirajima or Shimushir, and Urup, leaving thus all the islands north-east of Etorofu uninhabited.

● 114 Of Kunashiri and Etorofu I shall say no more in connection with the pit-dwellers, but a few more words on the Shikotan inhabitants may prove interesting, especially as people have been led to believe that they are the descendants of the Koropok-kuru, and not really Ainu.

142 I shall begin by saying that the Shikotan people call them- [101] selves Kurilsky *Ainu*, and that they speak both Ainu and 114 Russian. Their features are not very massive, and their cheek 184 and temple bones slightly project. They have strong mouths, and eyes identical in shape and colour with those of the Yezo Ainu. They are as hairy; they live by fishing and hunting; they clothe themselves in skins; and they are fond of beads and shining ornaments. Their huts have angular roofs, and are built in the same style as those of the Yezo Ainu, but on a smaller scale. The interiors are also alike, and equally dirty, if not more so. The Ainu huts at Shikotan are sixteen

in number, and *not one* of them is built over a pit, thus showing 142 that Mr. Batchelor was a little rash, when, relying on mistaken 119 information, he drew a conclusion which is not in accordance with the facts. 184 One thing that has misled most people as regards these Kurilsky Ainu is, that they were compelled to cut their hair and shave their beards. To the superficial observer this naturally gives them a different physiognomy from that of the Yezo Ainu, who let their hair grow long, and have flowing beards. Prof. Milne, who some years ago visited 114 the Island of Shumshu,[1] relates that he saw there a small group 184 of Kurilsky Ainu, who, all included, numbered twenty-two. 291 Their dress, although made of skins, was European in form, and the upper garment, shaped like a shirt, was made of bird- [239] skins (puffins) with the feathers inside. The back was ornamented with the plumes of the yellow puffin, and the edge was trimmed with seal-fur. The men wore garments tied at the waist with a belt of sea-lion hide. Their feet and legs up to the knee were covered with moccasins, also made of sea-lion skin, and their food consisted of a few berries, the eggs and flesh of sea-birds, seals, and other meat. They were few 114 and migratory, and carried with them all their property when 184 migrating. Prof. Milne, in a paper contributed to the Asiatic Society of Japan, thinks that the chief point in connection with these people is, that they constructed houses by making shallow excavations in the ground, which were then roofed over with turf, and that these excavations had a striking resemblance to the pits now found further south. I believe, however, that Prof. Milne never saw them excavating these pits, and the fact that hardly two dozen people in the extreme north-east Kuriles having temporarily adopted shallow excavations which they roofed over, is barely sufficient proof that they were pit-dwellers, and, as will be seen later, I had ample evidence afterwards that they were not. It is probable that this wandering band, owing to the scarcity or difficulty of procuring timber in those regions—the smallness of their canoes not permitting them to transport the materials for above-ground structures from one island to another—it is probable, I say, that, having come upon pits already dug, they had roofed them over and lived in them, finding them suitable

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[1] The correct name and pronunciation is *Shimushir*.

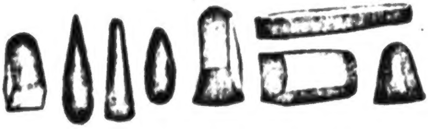
119 184 to the severe climate. When I visited Shikotan (September, 1890), where not only these Shimushir people, but all the Kurilsky Ainu, numbering sixty, are now collected, and where they have built dwellings in their own style, the architecture and mode of construction were identical with those of the Yezo Ainu, and there were *no* pits whatever to their huts.

184 Had they been pit-dwellers, why should they have so suddenly modified their habits as to construct huts wholly above-ground without any reason for so doing? Supposing they were actually pit-dwellers, and had lived generation after generation in pits, why should they abandon this chief structural characteristic in a place where the climate is as severe as in the islands they formerly inhabited? I am willing to admit that the Kurilsky Ainu, like all barbarians, made the best of what they found in their migrations from one island to another, and that, having found pits already dug, they had lived in them simply for convenience, and to protect themselves from the cold. The impossibility of constructing their own style of dwellings, which would have required too much time and a great amount of timber and reeds—two articles scarce in the north-east Kuriles—may account for their being driven to occupy pits already dug; but I am certainly not inclined to admit that therefore the few remaining Kurilsky Ainu are in any way connected with or related to the Koro-pok-kuru. I believe that I have given sufficient evidence to prove this. At 174 any rate, I have given such evidence as it was in my power to collect, and I have based my statements on what I actually saw, and not on what I heard people say. As others have speculated on this subject, I shall now ask the forgiveness of the reader if I am also dragged into a little pre-historic speculation as to who the Koro-pok-kuru were, and whence they came.

172 As I remarked at the beginning of this chapter, we find that pits are more numerous as we go in a north-east direction. Thus, few are found at Hakodate; and though none or few have been found along the south-west coast of Yezo, still, flint arrow-heads, pottery, and stone adzes collected here and there, show us that the Koro-pok-kuru had travelled along that coast, probably journeying in their canoes, landing to hunt, or to fight the Ainu.

000 174 [103] the dialect spoken in that part of Japan. Names of places, rivers, towns, etc., of Ainu origin, are common all over Japan. It was this former occupation of Japan by the Ainu that for some time led people to believe that the Ainu were the forefathers of the Japanese; and when pits were found in Yezo, the same hastily-judging people attributed them to the Ainu; and then, when mention was made of the Koro-pok-kuru and the Ko-shto, they affixed this name to the Kurilsky Ainu whom they had never seen nor studied.

172 114 I am not prepared to say whether or not traces of these Koro-pok-kuru are to be found in the Aleutian Islands, as I have not visited them; but it would prove interesting to trace a connection between them and some existing race, in case my supposition be not correct, though I am sure that it is nearer the mark than any of the conjectures made by others with regard either to the Ainu or the Koro-pok-kuru. At any rate, as I do not pretend to infallibility; should my supposition be wrong, the facts given above will remain, and a more successful student and investigator will be able to work on them with a decided advantage over the writer, who had to start from the very beginning, and work on information which was more of an obstacle than a help.



STONE ADZES AND HAMMERS.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

121 than to excite sympathy for my hardships. Really, though the journey nearly cost me my life, I have never, in my extensive wanderings, enjoyed a trip more than that to Ainuland.

I have touched but slightly, and not more than was absolutely necessary, on subjects relating to the Japanese; for this is intended as a work on the Ainu.

●114 I was happy yet sorry to be at the end of my journey! This was the 146th day since I first left Hakodate, and the distance I had travelled was about 4,200 miles, out of which 3,800 were ridden on horseback, or an average of twenty-five miles a day. The remaining 400 miles were either by steamer or canoe travelling.

From the day I broke the bone in my foot I travelled fifty-eight days, mostly on horseback, and the first time it was attended to and properly bandaged up was sixty days after it occurred, or two days after my arrival in Hakodate, by Mr. Pooley, chief engineer on board the ss. *Satsuma Maru.*

Mr. Henson was again extremely kind, and pressed me to leave the tea-house and go and stay at his place, and after five months of "hard planks" I slept again in a comfortable bed. What a treat it was! What a curious sensation to sleep in a bed again, and actually have sheets and blankets! But this was not all, for surprise followed surprise.

The pompous Consul, who for the sake of saving himself the trouble of looking into his desk, had made my last portion of the journey wretched and sorrowful, found that after all he was mistaken, and on the breakfast-table in my place I found a packet of about 100 letters and newspapers, which the Consul sent to me with a message saying that when I called last time he had forgotten who I was, and therefore had forgotten to give me my correspondence!

Now that we have travelled round and through the country in every direction; now that we have seen where the different tribes of Ainu are, I shall attempt to give my readers some insight into the Ainu themselves, and their mode of living.

CHAPTER XXII.

Ainu Heads, and their Physiognomy.

THE faces of the Ainu are far from ugly, and their heads are 142
singularly picturesque, though of course there are the finer types as there are the meaner; by which we come to gradation and comparison. The general idea that all Ainu are hideous has arisen from the accounts of the few who have travelled in the more civilised parts of Yezo, and have seen and studied only a limited number of half-breeds and actual Japanese, mistaking them for Ainu. In one of the last publications on the Ainu, photographs of Japanese and half-breeds are given as typical specimens of the Ainu race; and one or two real Ainu are given as phenomena and exceptions. That the Ainu are disgustingly filthy is undoubted; that in many ways they are monkey-like is certain; but also that on a close examination 142
many are not devoid of good features is undeniable. As regards looks, it is a great mistake to compare savages with 114
ourselves, and to judge of them from our own standpoint. This is no more fair than to compare a thoroughbred fox-terrier with a thoroughbred poodle-dog, to the disadvantage of the one or the other. Passing off half-breeds as pure types of course makes things ten times worse, and complicates matters for those who care for accuracy, and are interested in anthropological researches.

Ainu physiognomy is an interesting study. When seen full- 142
face the forehead is narrow, and sharply sloped backward. The cheek-bones are prominent, and the nose is hooked, slightly flattened, and broad, with wide, strong nostrils. The mouth is generally large, with thick, firm lips, and the underlip well

not from the European, but from the native standpoint, for I 123
think it is only fair to give things as they are, without too much reference to our own ideas.

With savage nations, music is the expression of the feelings and passions of the musician. Thus, it is necessary to well know the man himself before we can understand his productions and appreciate them; and such knowledge is only attained by constantly living with natives, not as a mere stranger, but as one of them.

Very few travellers have seen the real Ainu, or studied them 114 ●
accurately, while many, partly owing to their inability to differentiate one race from another, have given us highly imaginative descriptions, and even photographs, of Japanese half-castes and actual Japanese, describing them as Ainu. If such worthy ethnologists as have visited the "civilised part only" of the Ainu country, have been unable to distinguish types of the hairy Ainu race from those of the hairless Japanese, or from mixtures of the two, undoubtedly racial characteristics have been but imperfectly recorded.

It is more particularly in music and poetry, as I have 121
already explained, that temperamental characteristics are shown, and one ought to be careful to clearly define what is native music and poetry—in which I include legends, traditions, and folk-lore—and what has been transmitted by neigh-
bouring and conquering races. Loud music is not appreciated 533
by the Ainu, and makes them grin with more scorn than 123
enjoyment. I could only try experiments in this direction by singing to them, as I had no European musical instruments with me; but I found that singing *con brio* at the top of my voice was not so pleasing to them as when I sang *piano con passione.* For instance, the song "Toreador," in the opera *Carmen,* created fits of merriment from a crowd at Frishikobets, while the same crowd, a few minutes later, listened attentively and silently to Gounod's "Ave Maria," sung in a kind of "miaoling" voice.

I may here mention incidentally, to show the different 000
musical tastes of Ainu and Japanese, that some months previous to this I was at a concert at Tokio in which the same "Ave Maria" was performed by some distinguished European musicians. The large Japanese audience, who had been atten-

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

771 when the poor beast has been sufficiently tortured, pricked
825 with pointed sticks, shot at with blunted arrows, bruised with
527 stones, maddened with rage and ill-usage, it is killed outright,
and, "ancestor" as it may be, it makes the chief dish and *raison
d'être* of a festival, where all the members of the tribe partake
of its flesh. The owner of the hut in which the feast takes place
then sticks the skull on to a forked pole, and sets it outside
with the others at the east end of his hut. The skin is made
[237] into garments, or is spread on the ground to sleep on.

In addition to this rudimentary kind of Totemism—if I
771 may call it so—the Ainu show a certain amount of fear and
respect for anything which supports their life or can destroy it.
This, however, is under the form of an "instinct" rather than
a "religious feeling." Dumb animals of any kind are similarly
affected by powers which they cannot explain; but as we
would not think for a moment that when a dog is barking at
the moon the dog is worshipping the orb of night, or when it
basks in the sun that it is offering prayers and reverence to
the orb of day, no more should we think that the Ainu, who
are not much above dumb animals, worship all they respect
and fear.

● 114 If other writers, most of whom have never visited the Ainu
country, had not written on this subject, I would have limited
771 myself to saying that the Ainu, properly speaking, have no
religion, but as certain untenable theories and false ideas have
been published, I feel bound to state what I know on the
subject, that, so far as I can, I may correct these erroneous
impressions. I regard myself as qualified to speak with some
authority, as I am the *only* foreigner who has seen and studied
all the different tribes of Ainu in Yezo and the Kuriles; while
other writers, the few who have actually been there, have
based their statements on a few half-castes or Ainu in the
more civilised part of southern Yezo, collecting from them
ideas left behind by previous travellers, and offering them
to the public as purely Ainu. That these hasty travellers and
cursory writers have been deceived, or have deceived themselves,
is not astonishing; for it must be borne in mind that
[141] the Ainu language is as poor in words as the Ainu brain is
deficient in thoughts. Thus it is no easy matter to explain to
an Ainu what is meant by "religion," by "divinities," and by

"worship." The nearest approach can be made only by 119 ●
comparisons and analogies, which often lead far from the 99
point aimed at. Like all savages and barbarians, the Ainu
are more apt to answer as they think will please the questioner [123]
than to give a definition of their own beliefs. The manner in
which a question is put gives the keynote to the reply, which [124]
is in no sense an independent statement of their own thoughts.

For instance, if you were to say to an Ainu, "You are old, 124
are you not?" he would answer "Yes"; but if you asked the 114
same man, "You are not old, are you?" he would equally answer "Yes." Knowingly speaking the truth is not one of their characteristics; indeed, they do not know the difference between falsehood and truth. This is a common failing with all savages as well as with all Orientals; but with the Ainu it is even more accentuated; and when, in addition to this, the difficulty of making them understand exactly what one means is taken into consideration, it is not astonishing that a traveller arrives at a wrong conclusion if the utmost pains be not taken in pursuing one's investigations.

Of course the Ainu who have come in contact with 797
Japanese know of a God, and some of them, at the instiga- 177
tion of Japanese *bonzes*, have become nominal Buddhists. Benry, at Piratori, showed me a small Buddhist shrine, of Japanese manufacture, which had been put up on a neighbouring hill. All the time I stayed at Piratori I never observed any Ainu worship at it. One day I saw two boys throwing stones at it, but that could hardly be called an act of reverence, even among my hairy friends.

On my inquiring as to the origin and use of the shrine, I was told by some that it was erected to the God of the Japanese. Benry, who was always "well informed," both in things that he knew and those that he did not know, said that it was built in honour of Yoshitsune, the Japanese personage who, as we have seen, is the hero in semi-Ainu legends, and whose image or spirit, according to travellers' tales, is worshipped by the Ainu.

It always appeared strange to me that the Piratori Ainu had this Japanese hero in their legends, but still more strange that they should make him their deity. Yet what was most singular of all was, that with the exception of Benry and a few

that, as all things spring from germs, so these ignorant super- 771
stitions of the Ainu may be in a manner called their religion, 171
as the germ of a more developed system—the cotyledonous
state of what might grow into a more advanced spirituality.
Like the ancient Greeks and Romans, the Ainu wave their 788
moustache-lifters, during their libations, towards the sun, the 576
fire, and the person who has paid for the wine, before they address themselves to the large wooden bowls wherein lies their happiness; but this also is not a religious ceremony, and no religious feeling whatever is connected with it. It is a mere *toast*—part of their etiquette—which exactly corresponds to the German "*Prosit*," or to our English "Your good
health." The Ainu of course have no special high-days, no 771
Sundays, no religious services, no prayers, no priests, no sacrificial priests, no churches, and no bells; but they can "swear"; and as the Neapolitans invoke their saints, so they occasionally call the sun, the moon, the fire, and everything else, all sorts of bad names if things do not go as they ought. This
"swearing" has been defined as *Ainu praying* by one authority 771
on the Ainu religion; moreover, the same authority calls the 114
Ainu a "distinctly religious people," and an "exceedingly religious race!" To anyone who visits a country and regards all that he finds from one point of view only, it is not difficult to interpret words and things in accordance with the preconceived idea; but however high the principles sought to be established, I do not consider a man justified in attributing to definite facts an importance and significance to which they have no claim. I have no doubt that a native who had associated with or been in the employment of a Christian would make statements in accordance with his master's belief as it had been taught him; but it is incorrect to offer these "borrowed statements" as the religious beliefs of a whole nation.

I shall not discuss this question at greater length; but for 772
the sake of readers who are interested in the subject it may be well to make two or three more statements before closing this chapter. The Ainu do not know of a heaven and hell; but in one of the latest publications on the aborigines of Japan we are told that they do; and, moreover, that they are fully aware of the resurrection of the body in the other world!

Even assuming, for the moment, that the Ainu are theists, or 000

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 ABG Ainu ABG

778 fireplace a special *inumpa-inau* is consecrated; at the door is
771 an *apa syat un inau;* over the bedstead are suspended here and
782 there medicinal inau. Outside of the house, on the eastern side, rise up whole group inau made of tall poles and trees, in front of which the owner of the house daily recites his lengthy prayers. And further, wherever one turns, — on mountain, on seashore, on river-bank, in forest, on roads, on mountain-summits, in cemeteries, — everywhere, large inau, of most varied forms — to the "master" of the mountain (Plate XXXIV, Fig. 2), sun (Fig. 3), sea, river, to an ancestor, whale, otter, bear, seal, etc. — are to be seen.

All these are *permanent inau,* which are regularly set up at a certain time and at certain places. Periodically, once a year, and sometimes even oftener, they are renewed, and the old ones are carefully stored up in special sheds.

778 But even more numerous are the inau made for this or that
782 particular occasion. For example, after every successful hunt,
[224] inau are made to this or that divinity, and, in addition, the heads of the killed beasts, or their wooden effigies (Plate XXXV, Fig. 4), are adorned with inau. If one falls ill or recovers, if he goes on a journey or returns, etc., there is a new inau. A systematic catalogue of inau would fill a volume. It may be said without exaggeration that a considerable portion of the Ainu's life is spent in producing inau, and it is only at the end of a long life that complete mastery of this mysterious science is attained.

771 This odd cult[1] has spread from the Ainu to the neighboring
171 people of the Amur region, — the Gilyak, the Orok, the Gold, and the Orochi; but, so far as we are aware, it has been found nowhere else. Judging from KRASHENINNIKOF's description,[1] an analogous phenomenon exists among the Kamchadal, but with the substitution of fibres of sedge-grass for shavings.

778 3. Two questions are to be cleared up, — What is the pur-
114 pose of the inau? Whence its peculiar shape? Some inquirers have answered both questions; others, only the first.

BATCHELOR, the well-known missionary, who has lived for several years among the Ainu, on the Island of Yezo, now sees

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[1] A Description of the Land Kamchatka, second edition, pp. 331, 332.

1 [The inau cult -- Analyst]

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

in them "mere offerings," and again "genuine fetiches."[1] 778
Mrs. Bird, who has travelled among the Ainu, considers the 114
inau to be domestic deities.

An entirely peculiar opinion is held by the Russian observer, Dr. M. M. Dobrotvorski, who lived among the Ainu on Saghalin in the seventies, and wrote a dictionary of the Ainu language. He maintains that the inau are but effigies, *substitutes for human sacrifices*, which, according to the Ainu themselves, were once performed, and are even now in use among some of their tribesmen.[2] [782] [532]

This hypothesis contradicts the facts. In the first place, it must be pointed out that on a whole line of inau — as, for example, on Plate XXXIV, Fig. 1 — there are no notches at all. Further, a whole line of inau consists of shavings alone, without a suggestion of human figures. On many which have notches, as on Fig. 2, these notches, as stated by the Ainu, denote parts of the face, — the eyebrows, eyes, mouth, and nose. But even in the case of such figures as those seen on Plate XXXIV, Figs. 3 and 4, where the middle portion stripped of bark might be interpreted as the abdomen, the notches happen to be just above and below that part, and cannot, at any rate, represent the cutting-open of the belly. In reality, on these figures, the upper notch denotes the mouth; the two lower, the navel and sexual organs. On some inau the middle, planed part is even pointed out by the Ainu as the face. Thus Dobrotvorski's hypothesis falls *per se*. 778 532 114

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[1] [This was formerly the opinion of Batchelor, which, however, he has given up and partly revised in his new book The Ainu and Their Folklore (London, 1901, pp. 96 et seq., pp. 110 et seq.); compare also the critical remarks on the subject by Cl. E. Maitre (Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. II, p. 216; Vol. III, p. 126). Batchelor is now also of the same opinion as the author of this paper, that there are inau acting as "mediators or messengers, whose spirits pass between men and the various deities." The fact that these two authors were independently led to this result seems to me a very remarkable coincidence; but there can be no doubt that Dr. Sternberg went far beyond Batchelor in the elucidation of the question. — Editor.]

[2] Aino-Russian Dictionary, Supplement, p. 65; also Introduction, p. 42. Kasan, 1875.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

2

778 More attention is due to the considerations of W. G. ASTON,[1]
174 who derives the inau from the Japanese Shinto cult, and connects them with the so-called *gohei,* sacrificial sticks hung around with strips of colored paper. In earliest times, argues this investigator, fabrics, yarn, and fibres of textile plants, were very frequently to be found among the common offerings of the Shinto cult. Later on, these real offerings, bearing the name "nusa," assumed a purely fictitious form, having been supplanted by sticks with strips of fabrics or fibres of plants attached to them; and later still, when cotton came into general use, they were entirely superseded by strips of paper. These very sticks, hung around with strips of paper, and called "gohei," are, in the opinion of Aston, the prototypes of the Ainu inau. In their subsequent evolution, these gohei, and with them the inau, have become, from mere objects of offering, independent objects of worship, having been transformed into miracle-working magic beings, and even receptacles of spirit-deities.

778 However tempting the acceptance of this hypothesis may
114 seem, — the more so because the gohei indeed somewhat re-
194 semble the inau in shape; and, furthermore, the most ancient forms of gohei bear the name "nusa,"[2] identical with the Ainu
[192] name for a group of inau,[3] — yet the reasons adduced by the author in support of his hypothesis are not conclusive. Indeed, if the inau are but the Japanese nusa and gohei, then the Ainu, like the Japanese, would have passed from fabrics and fibres to *paper;* or, if paper strips were for some reason or other beyond their means, they would have retained the old form of nusa, — that is, fabrics and spinning-yarns, — which would be the more
[286] natural, as the Ainu are familiar with the weaver's art; and textile material, in the form of nettle and elm-bast, was always ready at hand.

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[1] The Japanese Gohei and the Ainu Inao (Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1901, Vol. XXXI).

[2] In reality, the Ainu have their own synonymes for "nusa," *inau-chipa;* and the Japanese, on the other hand, call the Ainu nusa by the name *inau no rui.* Compare this word in BATCHELOR's Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary.

[3] See p. 429.

5: Sternberg E-5 (no date) 1906 AB6 Ainu AB6

Of greater interest are the considerations of the same author, 778
quoting two Japanese writers of the beginning and end of the 114
eighteenth century, that, among the ceremonial objects of the 174
Shinto cult, there had been the so-called *kedzuri-kake* (half-shaved little sticks). An extant representation of such a stick resembles the inau very closely indeed; but this fact argues rather against the gohei-inau hypothesis, and for the following reasons. As stated by the author himself, the said kedzuri-kake were lighted at the sacred fire of the temple, and carried home by the Shintoists to kindle the New-Year's fire on the hearth. This ceremonial, no doubt, must be very old; and for such a purpose, the kindling of fire, the ancient nusa of fabrics and yarn would be utterly good for nothing. If such is the case, the little half-shaved sticks of the Shinto cult must be of *primary* origin, and then they have nothing in common with the gohei; and there is more reason to credit their invention to the Ainu than to the Japanese, as among the former the cult of "shaved" sticks has received the widest development, while in the case of Shintoism we know of but one or two isolated cases.

I have now only to give my personal considerations and 778
observations on the meaning of inau and their origin. 124

4. First of all, it was important for me to ascertain clearly how the Ainu themselves look upon their inau. This I endeavored to do in all possible ways during my travels among the Saghalin Ainu; and, to be just, they formulated their ideas on the subject with a clearness and definiteness that left nothing to be desired. Among the Saghalin Ainu, in the early nineties,
the greatest authority was vested in a certain man called Ni- [115]
sendus, the venerable aged chief of the village Mauko. He was, forsooth, a very venerable and sensible old man, a veritable patriarch, of whom his fellow tribesmen used to say that he was "just as good" as a kamui (god). I wished to verify my former inquiries and observations, and, while at his village, I visited him. He was just installing a new *unti-kamui inau* on his fireplace. "Explain to me," said I, "why you make these inau. What are they?"—"This," said the old man, "is an *ikoy-ìtáku ainu* ('mediator, envoy, orator'). The

Kinship Organization of the Saru Ainu[1]

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114 The ethnological importance of the culture of the Ainu, perhaps over-
shadowed by the biological significance of this archaic Caucasoid
people, has never received proper attention in Western anthropologi-
cal literature. This also reflects the fact that the aboriginal culture
[182] of the Ainu, as Takakura (1960) has shown, had begun to disinte-
648 grate long before modern times. Early in the nineteenth century the
Japanese government tightened its political control over the Ainu,
177 and this policy, together with the adoption of agriculture by this
basically hunting-and-gathering people, increasing intermarriage
with the neighboring Japanese, and the adoption of the Japanese
language for everyday conversation, so altered the Ainu culture that
a study of the aboriginal conditions is now extremely difficult.

114 Nevertheless, research in all aspects of Ainu culture is being
carried on—primarily by Japanese scholars. In 1951 the Japanese
Society of Ethnology sent a team of anthropologists to the Saru
River valley, in southwestern Hokkaido, to study the Ainu of this
area, using modern anthropological techniques. This field work, in
which the senior author participated, has thrown considerable light
on the nature of the Ainu kinship structure, about which very little
121 had been known. A unique feature of the Ainu kinship system which
came to be understood at this time is that men trace their descent
[611] patrilineally and women matrilineally. Although this characteristic
had been noted in passing by Takakura (1944: 54-55) and Natori
(1945: 114), a full understanding of this unusual descent system,
particularly in relation to other aspects of the social organization,
had to await the 1951 field investigation. The purpose of this paper
is to outline the kinship organization of the Saru Ainu with special
emphasis on the nature of their descent system.

FAMILY

594 Although the contemporary Ainu family tends to be extended,
[592] in aboriginal times the nuclear family seems to have been the pre-
ponderant pattern, with occasional coresidence of a widowed kinsman.
[595] In the rare cases of polygyny, each wife, with her children, had her
own dwelling.

and Plotnicov 1962); the basic subsistence unit was the nuclear 614
family. Nor was it unambiguously politically corporate in the sense 602
of having an internal authority structure and a mechanism for external
representation—with the possible exception of the patrilineal
group localized in a village. Further examination, however, should be made of the extent to which these political functions were clearly attributes of the patrilineal group as a kin-based organization, and not attributes of the village as a territorial group, before we can definitely assert that the patrilineal group was politically corporate.

The matrilineage among the Ainu also poses unsolved problems. 114
The functions of this matrilineal group—if there were any besides the
regulation of marriage—should be investigated. At present, the term 602
matrilineage, as applied to Ainu society, connotes little more than a category of individuals who must observe exogamous rules.

The relationship between the patrilineal and the matrilineal groups should also be examined further. We do know that there were certain crucial relationships between the two sexes, but we are not certain whether these relations were, structurally speaking, person-to-person, group-to-group, or person-to-group.

Though we are far from fully comprehending the nature of the Ainu kinship organization, we hope that our brief exposition has contributed to its understanding and that competent field investigation may be continued for the solution of problems such as those posed above before Ainu culture has disintegrated beyond recognition.

NOTES

1. The present paper is primarily based on an article by the senior author (Sugiura 114
1952), written and published in Japanese. The junior author has extracted information
from this article, reorganized it, and added further analysis and discussion. He regrets 121
that he could not consult the senior author, who died in 1954. He expresses his thanks to Professors S. Izumi and T. Sofue for pertinent information on Ainu kinship and to Dr. Lionel S. Lewis and Mrs. Thomas K. Whipple for editorial assistance. Although some of the aboriginal practices are still carried on, we have adopted the past tense throughout this paper, for our concern is strictly with the aboriginal patterns of social organization.
2. Because men alone trace descent patrilineally, all "patrikin" are by definition male. 611
By the same token, all "matrikin" are female.
3. By "second parallel cousin" we mean Ego's FaFaBrSoCh or MoMoSiDaCh. 601
4. Some authors (e.g., Montandon 1937: 137) have erroneously called these patrilineal
and matrilineal groups "clans" without clearly indicating the difference between the 614
Ainu unilineal group and the clan in the ordinary sense of the term. A clan, whatever 114
its definition, includes both sexes.
5. Some of the older informants, to be sure, claim that while the village has always 614
had a head, there was no such status as the head of a patrilineal group.
6. When a man died, his body was supposed to be attended to by female relatives. 622
The most preferred person was his mother or, in her absence, her sisters, her other
matrikin, and his wife, in this descending order of preference. 764

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AB6 Ainu AB6

PREFACE

by B. Z. Seligman

NEIL GORDON MUNRO was born in Edinburgh in 1863, where he was educated and eventually studied medicine. Soon after qualifying he began to travel in the Far East, first in India and later in Japan. In 1893 he became director of the General Hospital in Yokohama, and, although he returned to Europe occasionally, from that time until his death he made Japan his home. He became interested in Japanese prehistory, and it was during his many visits to Hokkaido towards the end of last century and in the first two decades of this century that he met the Ainu. 7/4

His published works are as follows:

Primitive culture in Japan, Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. 34, 1906. [113]
Prehistoric Japan, Yokohama, 1908; Edinburgh, 1911.
Reflections on some European Palaeoliths and Japanese Survivals, Yokohama, 1909.
Some Origins and Survivals, Yokohama, 1911.
Various articles on the Ainu in *Nature* and other journals.

He presented his valuable collection of prehistoric remains to the Edinburgh Museum.

Munro became Chief Medical Officer in charge of the sanatorium at Karuizawa, a hill station in Japan. For many years, in the season when the calls on his professional services at Karuizawa permitted, he made long visits to Hokkaido. His main interest shifted from prehistory to the living conditions of the Ainu. He deplored the state of these hardy people who had been forced to give up their hunting and food-gathering life to gain a bare subsistence from agriculture. They were impoverished, were [178]

● 114

[178] becoming degenerate owing to alcohol and loss of interest in life, and were declining in numbers.

When in Japan in 1929 my husband, the late Professor C. G. Seligman, F.R.S., met Munro, he was distressed to learn that all Munro's notes on the Ainu, his specimens and photographs, had been lost in the great earthquake of 1923. At the same time, he had suffered severe financial loss and was unable to continue his Ainu studies at his own expense. Seligman was convinced of the value of Munro's accurate observation and of his intimate knowledge of the Ainu people. On his return to England he applied for funds to [122] the Rockefeller Foundation to enable Munro to continue his investigations. Funds were granted in 1930, and Munro immediately had a small house built at Nibutani in the Saru district of Hokkaido, and settled there, with his Japanese wife, to make an intensive study of the Ainu.

[123] His method of work was to open a clinic—in which he was aided by his wife, a trained hospital nurse—and to give free treatment to all who flocked to him. Having gained the confidence of the [115] Ainu, he kept open house for all who came there to gossip, sing songs, tell legends and talk of past times. He was thus acquainted with a number of elders (*ekashi*), who became his regular informants, and to whom he referred as friends and teachers.

In December 1932 a second misfortune befel Munro. Before dawn one morning his thatched house at Nibutani was burnt down. He and his wife escaped from the flames, and managed to save a tin box in which he kept his Ainu notes, but all his belongings, his books, his photographic and other scientific material, were destroyed. Exposure to the bitter cold of the Hokkaido winter impaired Munro's health, and the disaster left him all but penniless. However, he did not give in.

[122] Seligman applied for further grants. In 1933 the Rockefeller Foundation made another contribution, and grants were made by the Royal Society and the British Association for the Advancement of Science. The Asiatic Society of Japan sent a donation. A small committee for the British Association was formed, and this now comprises Professor Daryll Forde, Lord Raglan, F.S.A., Mr Arthur D. Waley, C.H., C.B.E., F.B.A., with myself as chairman.

Munro's health deteriorated. It is not quite clear in which years he returned to Karuizawa to do a summer season's work at the sanatorium and when he remained throughout the year in Hok-

7:Munro & Seligman D.E-4.5 (ca.1900-1942) 1963
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kaido, but some time in 1934 he wrote saying he intended to remain 114 ●
in the Ainu country permanently.

In his letters he mentioned that he had recorded in the Ainu 114
language, and translated, a large number of songs and legends,
fifty invocations for the treatment of various ailments, many treatments 126
for difficult childbirth, and descriptions of ceremonies and
exorcism rites. He had also made notes on music and pastimes. He
took some films when interesting ceremonies were held in the
neighbourhood, and as he was not satisfied with these he engaged
a professional photographer to work under his direction, while
taking stills himself. Munro also mentioned that films were taken
of rites and ceremonies connected with fertility, pregnancy, parturition,
spirit possession and the treatment of diseases; also of
ritual dancing and the Beer-straining and the Bear Ceremony. Unfortunately,
only the last of these films reached this country. It is
now in the possession of the Royal Anthropological Institute,
where it was shown on the 10th January 1933. Recently, a positive
was made from the original negative, and was shown in Athens in
September 1961, at a meeting of the Comité International du Film
Ethnographique et Sociologique.

The Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rites. Munro 114
witnessed it several times but did not include a description for his 796
book. He did mention, however, that the part of it which is performed
inside the house is similar to the House-warming Ceremony,
and he sent a photograph (Pl. XIII,) of the *inau* set up for
the rite. For it, a bear cub was caught and tended with great care [776]
and reverence, and actually treated as the representative of the god,
or perhaps the god (*kamui*) itself. When grown to suitable size, the [825]
caged bear was killed ritually. It seemed a serious omission for a
book on Ainu religion to have no account of the most important
rite. I have therefore added an account made from the captions
Munro wrote for his film (Appendix II).

Munro also saw, on many occasions, the ritual with which a 114
hunted bear was killed, but neither is there a written account of [224]
this. There is a short description of the former rite by Batchelor,
in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 249.

Various adverse circumstances made the progress of work
slower than Munro expected. The rigorous climate and the hard
and lonely conditions of life at Nibutani told severely on his health.
Seligman raised money from private sources to enable him to carry [122]

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114 on until about 1938 when Munro sent him the bulk of his manu-
[122] script. Although it was arranged in book form, it was not complete
nor fully prepared for publication, and none of the subjects mentioned above was included. Correspondence continued until it was broken off abruptly by Japan's entry into the war in 1941. After the war I received information from the British Consulate that Munro had died in April 1942, and that his wife's address could not be traced.

I know from numerous references to her in Munro's letters that
his wife had been a great support to him, not only in looking after
his health but also in his work. An elder had mentioned to Munro
292 that women could exercise magical power by means of a secret
girdle (*upshoro kut*), which they wore under their clothes. Because
114 of the confidence the Ainu women felt in Mrs Munro, he was able
789 to follow this subject up, and discovered that these girdles played
an important part in Ainu social organization. Mrs Munro was
able to persuade Ainu women to weave exact copies of five of them,
and these have been given to the British Museum. It was in 1934
[611] that a number of articles by Munro appeared in the *Japanese*
[582] *Advertiser* on Ainu customs, in which he mentioned the matri-
lineal descent of the secret girdles, their magical power and their
use in regulating exogamy.

114 Munro's object in writing a book on the Ainu was not only to give an account of his careful observations of the people and their customs, but also to demonstrate to the world at large, and the Japanese in particular, that the Ainu had a culture of their own which was worthy of consideration, and that they were not a low grade people believing only in absurd superstitions. He emphasized this view, and when recording beliefs or ritual that might appear irrational, he took pains to compare them with European folk customs. In fact, he intended the book to be 'A Plea for Toleration', as one of his unpublished articles was entitled. To readers of this book such a plea should be unnecessary, and the parallels have been omitted.

114 Munro's investigation was carried out at Nibutani in the Saru
115 River valley in south Hokkaido, but he worked with informants
from other districts, and made several visits to Kitami in the north. He intended to go to Sakhalin in order to make investigations there, but was never able to do so. His chief informants were elderly men and women still versed in Ainu lore. But for Munro's efforts, much

of their knowledge would have died with them, as the old way of 114
life was fast disappearing under growing Japanese influence, and [115]
with new conditions the old rituals, beliefs and legends were
neglected. It is unlikely that any of his informants are alive today.

Munro sent an excellent series of photographs, many of which [126]
are reproduced in this volume, but unfortunately, only the prints
reached this country, and I have been unable to trace the negatives. The prints and all his original manuscript will be deposited at the Royal Anthropological Institute.

Publication during the war was not possible, and afterwards, the difficulty remained of finding someone competent to revise the manuscript. It was fortunate that Mr Hitoshi Watanabe, a lecturer in the Anthropological Institute of the Faculty of Science at the University of Tokyo, who had come to London to study at University College, was eventually able to go through it. He had been a research member of the Tokyo Joint Research Committee on the Ainu, and had carried out field work in four expeditions from 1950 to 1952, so his assistance has been of great value. Besides making general comments on the manuscript, he has added footnotes drawn from his own experience, and from Japanese and other sources, and has written an historical introduction to this book.

Although Mr Watanabe saw the work as prepared by Munro, he did not see the other articles and papers. He criticized many details and one major interpretation made by Munro. Most of these differences, and all his additional information, are incorporated in footnotes. In considering the differences, some facts must be taken into account. As already mentioned above, Munro visited the Ainu country in the early decades of this century, and went to live among them in 1930, making Nibutani his home until he died
there twelve years later. Already in the thirties he found that the [178]
younger generation was not keeping up the old customs, and his
reliable informants were all old people. His information was based on events seen and heard, supplemented by discussion with elders. When the Tokyo Joint Research Committee made their investigations in the fifties, religious ideas may have been known more as theological systems than as living belief. This may account for some of the major differences in interpretation. As to the differences in facts, Munro pointed out that his records referred to those districts with which he was familiar, and to others from which he

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114 had reliable information; he expected the existence of local variations.

114 The chief difference in interpretation is in regard to the spiritual essence in vegetation. Munro states that Shiramba Kamui is the 774 god of vegetation and that all vegetation derives *ramat* (spirit or 776 soul) from him. Trees have *ramat*, thus wood also has *ramat*. Some 824 kinds of wood have more spiritual power than others, hence are more sacred, and are specially valuable for certain purposes. Mr Watanabe states that every plant is the 'incarnation of a spirit, all beasts, birds, fishes and insects are *kamui*-spirits. . . . In the country of the *kamui* they take human form . . . and live as human beings.' When they visit the Ainu 'they disguise themselves as trees and grass, etc.'. The ceremony translated in this book as 'ritual dismissal' sends the spirit home to the land of the *kamui*. According to Mr Watanabe, the sacred objects made of vegetable 114 matter derive their virtue from the spirit of the individual plant 825 from which they are made, not from Shiramba Kamui.

With regard to the animal world, the difference in interpreta- 776 tion is not so great. Munro does not suggest that the Ainu believe that all animals are *kamui*, but that there are good and bad animals of the same species, and this is specially noted of bears, snakes, [782] foxes and hornets. Protection from bad animals can be obtained by appealing to their *kamui* chiefs, who can restrain their own bad subordinates.

114 Differences in spelling also occur, mostly in regard to labials, palatals and gutturals. Munro transliterates them as b, d and g 104 (Shiramba, *iomande* and *ongami*), Mr Watanabe as p, t and k. I have retained Munro's spelling, and for the sake of consistency have had to alter Mr Watanabe's. In support of this decision, I may mention that Nibutani is the official postal address for the village in which Munro lived.

114 It was Munro's intention to write a complete historical and cultural account of the Ainu, as well as descriptions of their technology. He called it *Ainu Past and Present*. However, after consideration of the material at our disposal, our committee came to the conclusion that it was best to include in this book only that part of his work which deals with ritual and belief and their effect on Ainu daily life. An article on the 'Building of an Ainu House', compiled by Lord Raglan from Munro's notes, was published in *Man*, Vol. LIX, No. 285, October 1959. It is hoped that other

114 notes on hunting techniques, weaving, and other activities may be published in due course.

114 128 Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 11 remain more or less as Munro wrote them. In chapters 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 I have rearranged valuable material contained in some separate articles that Munro wrote (but as far as I know never published), as well as information scattered about in his original work, and notes from numerous letters to C. G. Seligman. Munro did not realize the importance of some of his own observations with regard to ancestor worship, matriliny and patriliny. (And, I may add, that I did not do so myself until I had been through all his manuscripts and letters several times.) I have therefore written Chapter XII on Social Organization, bringing together all the information I have been able to collect on the subject from Munro's own work, as well as that from the Japanese writers, who, working in the field some years after Munro, were able to follow up on scientific lines Munro's information on the secret girdles. The reader may find Chapters 2, 3 and 4 heavy going. *Kamui*, *inau* and the effigies are (or were still in the thirties of this century) vitally important to the Ainu, and the careful descriptions and photographs are a tribute to Munro's integrity. Should anyone care to skip these chapters, interest will doubtless arise later, and these chapters may be used only for reference.

114 Through the efforts of Mr Hugh Gibb when he was in Japan, I was able to get in touch with Mrs Munro in October 1959. She was delighted to know that her husband's work on the Ainu was to be published at long last. She wrote that Signor Fosco Maraini had been in Nibutani at the time of her husband's death and that she had entrusted him with a rucksack full of typescript. I had great hopes that the missing material referred to in Munro's letters, and perhaps the valuable films, might at last come to light, and wrote to Signor Maraini via his publisher. Six months later he came to London and brought me the rucksack. Unfortunately, it only contained a carbon copy of the book prepared by Munro and a few legends and invocations which have been included here as Appendix I.

128 My thanks are due to all members of the British Association's Committee: to Professor Forde for going through the original typescript of Munro's book and for giving assistance to Mr Watanabe; to Arthur Waley for checking the spelling and translation

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INTRODUCTION

771 remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

621 The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A
[594] group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*kotan*): the
number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty,
[162] but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers,
361 and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing
grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

621 A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically
autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was
423 expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and
[184] common participation in certain rituals.[1] Members of the local
groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

226 Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most im-
796 portant was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The
elders of each household in the local group, owning common
621 salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the
[774] coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the
spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

224 Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to
825 ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best
known of all Ainu rituals.
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London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

648 It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu
175 were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom[2] states that in 805 a memorial to the

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[613] [1] I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa
[622] sho hor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single
[114] authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

[2] G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

throne complains of the drain on the treasury caused by constant 648
fighting with the Ainu. The neighbourhood of Akita was laid waste by them; they 'gathered together like ants, but dispersed like 175
birds'. The Ainu inflicted heavy casualties on the Japanese in 789. Two years later a stronger and better organized force was successful in driving the enemy northwards. In 811 a commander was praised for 'destroying the lairs of the barbarians and exterminating the tribe'. Ainu chieftains were put to death, other prisoners were banished to the extreme south.

From these records the question of Ainu chieftainship arises, and the capacity of a non-agricultural people to combine in such force. Sansom suggests that pioneer Japanese settlers in the north of Honshu may have combined with the Ainu and organized their resistance.

Since the translation of the *Ainu Seisaku Shi* into English by 114
Mr. John A. Harrison and its publication,[1] information concerning 648
the earliest contacts with the Ainu in Hokkaido have been available to western readers. Professor Takakura's motive in spending many 175
years in research on the subject of Japanese and Ainu contacts, and Japanese colonial policy, was similar to that of Munro. Both men were distressed by the miserable condition of the Ainu, cut off from their traditional means of livelihood. Professor Takakura was insensed that, during his youth, 'nothing was being done to improve the lot of the Ainu'.

He records that in 1514, when the founder of the Matsumae family settled in Hokkaido, the Japanese settlements were already fortified against attack from the Ainu.

The Ezo of Ou (the Ainu of Honshu), who had been powerful 175
in the ninth century, had been almost exterminated, and their 648
remnants were completely assimilated by the end of the eighteenth century. Some contact with the Ainu of Hokkaido had been established by the Japanese at the end of the eighth century, but it was not until the sixteenth century that numbers of Japanese immigrants settled in South Hokkaido. Hokkaido then became a Japanese trading colony. When the Matsumae clan was granted a decree 224
of enfeoffment in 1604 the Ainu were living by hunting and fishing; 226
they bred dogs, both for hunting and haulage; they used stone and 231

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[1] Takakura, Shinichiro, *The Ainu of Northern Japan, a Study in Conquest and Acculturation*, translated and annotated by John A. Harrison, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, April 1960. 412

II

THE KAMUI

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IN the last chapter we discussed *kamui* in general and made special reference to the remote *kamui*—those believed to dwell in the sky. We now come to the second class of *kamui*—those regarded as accessible and trustworthy. The nominal chief of these terrestrial *kamui* is Shiramba Kamui, Upholder of the World. He is the god of vegetation, and though his *ramat* is believed to be distributed in trees which provide houses, utensils, implements and firewood, particularly oaks, it is also present in grain, herbs, vegetables and grasses, and is especially potent in the aconite (*surugu*). The possession of *ramat* is believed to endow trees and plants with feelings akin to those of men.[1] When I asked an Ainu who wished to plant a small tree in my garden whether it should have manure, he exclaimed: 'No, no, it would be too astonished.' Shiramba Kamui is especially revered as giver of the timber of

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[1] Mr Watanabe differs from Munro in certain interpretations of Ainu beliefs (see footnote re *kara*, Chapter II, p. 12). He states that the Ainu recognize the existence of a spirit in every plant, and that Shiramba Kamui is the Chief of the plants. He quotes: 'For the Ainu, trees and grass do not mean plants, at least in our sense of the word. According to the Ainu idea, beasts, birds, fishes and insects are *Kamui*-spirits, as well as trees and grass. In the country of *kamui* they take human forms and live the same mode of life as that of human beings, the Ainu. They have their families as well as villages' (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. I, pp. 13–14).

He adds: 'Such spirits, when visiting the Ainu country, disguise themselves and take the form of concrete objects such as trees and grass. In other words, every individual plant is nothing but an incarnation of a spirit which is invisible and believed to take a human form in its home country. In consequence, a plant itself is sometimes called by a name with such a suffix as *-kamui*, or *-fuchi*.'—B.Z.S.

which houses are built, and he is regarded as their owner and protector. 776
His *ramat* has a resort in a cluster of *inau* called the soul 774
nusa (*ram nusa*) just outside the sacred window. 824 [778]

We now come to the most trusted and revered *kamui* in the Ainu 776
pantheon, Kamui Fuchi, Supreme Ancestress[1] and ruler of all
departed spirits, whose *ramat* is manifested in the sacred fire of the 775
hearth. She is also known as Abe Kamui, deity of fire, and shares [774]
with Shiramba Kamui the title of Owner of the World (Shiri-koro
Kamui). Her supreme importance is seen in the fact that no *kamui*
is approached for aid without preliminary prayer to her. In prayer [782]
or 'sacred talk' (*innono-itak*) she is addressed as Iresu Kamui—She
Who Rears the Ainu. When a child dies before it is weaned its
ramat is kept by Kamui Fuchi until it can be reborn. Most elderly [842]
Ainu still believe that generation is not caused by the act of sexual
intercourse but that it is due to the return of a soul from the Underworld
under proper auspices.

The hearth is the entrance to the abode of the dead. It is 776
commonly believed that nothing must be allowed to contaminate
it, and that no evil deed must be contemplated in Kamui Fuchi's 775
presence. When the hearth fire is covered with ashes at night—it 354
is never extinguished—Kamui Fuchi is supposed to retire to rest.
She never leaves the hearth, but orders other *kamui* to deputize for
her outside. When, as in childbirth, there is impurity within [783]
the house a second fire is made at the lower end of the hearth,
and Uari Kamui, as substitute for Kamui Fuchi, takes charge [844]
there.

It was Kamui Fuchi who gave the Ainu women instructions to 776
make the sacred girdles (see Chapter XII).

There are various accounts of her origin. According to one she [292]
descended from the heavens and was accompanied by Kanna
Kamui, the god of thunder and lightning, in his guise of a fiery
serpent. This god is represented by Kinashut Kamui, with whom
Kamui Fuchi is closely connected in ritual. According to another

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[1] *Ekashi*, *Fuchi*: There is some ambiguity in the translation of these two words. The former usually means elder, and implies respect. It is translated [192]
as such in this book when it applies to a living man, but when applied to a [769]
deceased person or to a *kamui* Munro considers it to mean ancestor and to
imply ancestor worship. In the same way, *Fuchi* means old woman or grandmother.
As Kamui Fuchi is regarded as the ancestress by all Ainu women,
Munro refers to her frequently as 'Supreme Ancestress'. Mr Watanabe criticizes [114]
Munro's use of *ekashi* and *fuchi* as ancestor and ancestress.—B.Z.S.

776 account she came forth from an elm-tree impregnated by Kando-
koro Kamui, also called Rikun Kando Kamui, the Possessor of the
[372] Heavens. A third and common account makes her emerge from the
fire-drill, and according to a variant of this both Kamui Fuchi and
[774] Kinashut Kamui derive from the fire-drill. Because of her close
association with wood, a myth derives her *ramat* from the spirit
of vegetation.

As I understand it, Kamui Fuchi is the judge who punishes any misconduct, ritual or ethical, in this life by visiting upon the offender some misfortune or withdrawing her protection against evil spirits. I have been unable to confirm Batchelor's statement that she is concerned with a final 'day of judgment' by 'the great judge of all'.

Nusa-koro Kamui is held in high esteem, equal or nearly equal to that of Kamui Fuchi, who, according to some accounts, is his sister. But he is appealed to less frequently.

776 As will be described later, all *pase* (important or weighty) *kamui*
778 have their own assigned positions where *inau* are placed for them.
That of Kamui Fuchi is the hearth, and is the most revered of all.
The next best place is reserved for Nusa-koro Kamui; it is outside
the sacred window and to the left of it. At Nibutani, where the
window faces east, it is to the north-east. These sacred places, or
rather the *inau* set up there, contain *ramat* of their respective *kamui*.

776 The name Nusa-koro Kamui[1] is really an epithet, as are nearly
[552] all titles of *kamui* and of persons. Even the most sacred names,
which may only be uttered on serious occasions and then *sotto voce*,
are epithets. In prayers he is addressed as Kotan-koresu (village
raising) Kamui.

[769] The nature of Nusa-koro Kamui is somewhat mysterious, but
[795] investigation reveals a close connection with ancestor worship and
of traces of a snake cult. Elders are buried near his *nusa*, and the
[778] place selected for libations and offerings to the dead, which are
never omitted at any *kamui nomi* (festal service) to the gods, is
[782] nearby. In this ritual, offerings to Nusa-koro Kamui, like offerings
to the dead, are carried out through the west door instead of being
passed through the east window as is done for all other *kamui*.

● [114] [1] According to Munro Nusa-koro Kamui is masculine, but Mr Watanabe says that this deity is feminine, the sister of Kamui Fuchi, and is charged with the feeding of the Ainu. He also says that Hash-inau-uk Kamui and Kinashut Kamui are siblings of Nusa-koro Kamui.—B.Z.S.

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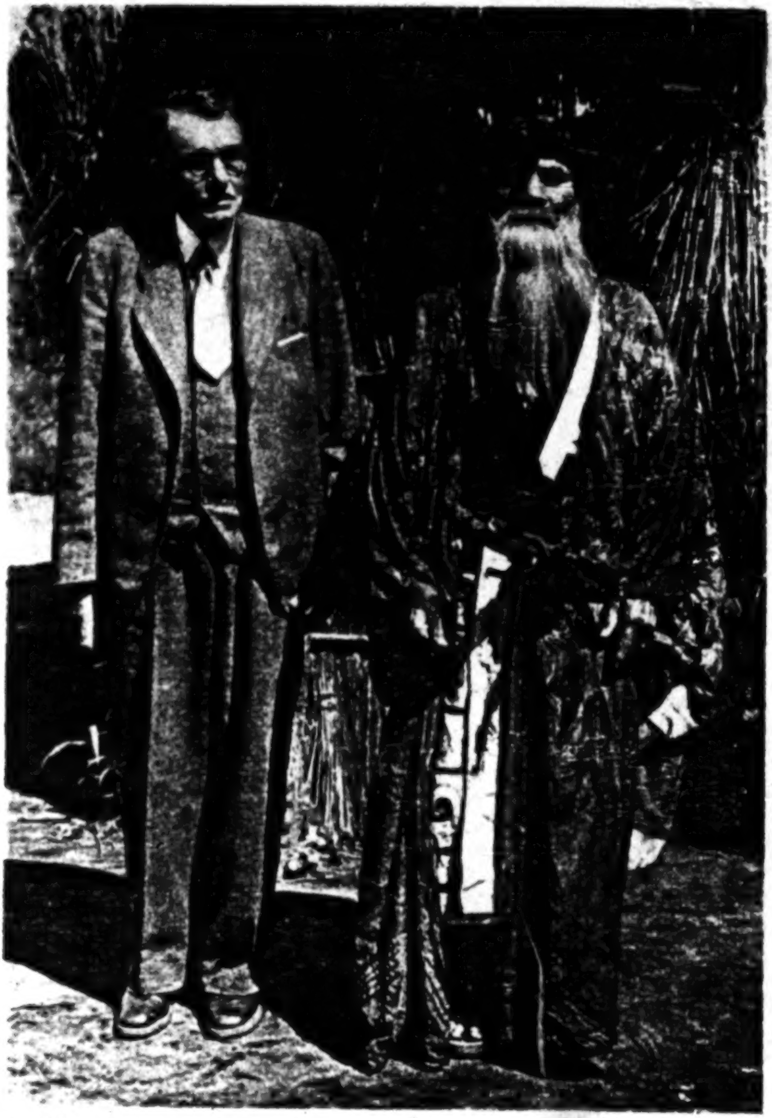

PLATE I. The author with an elder wearing Japanese ceremonial robe given for services rendered early in this century.

[p. 30, (A)]

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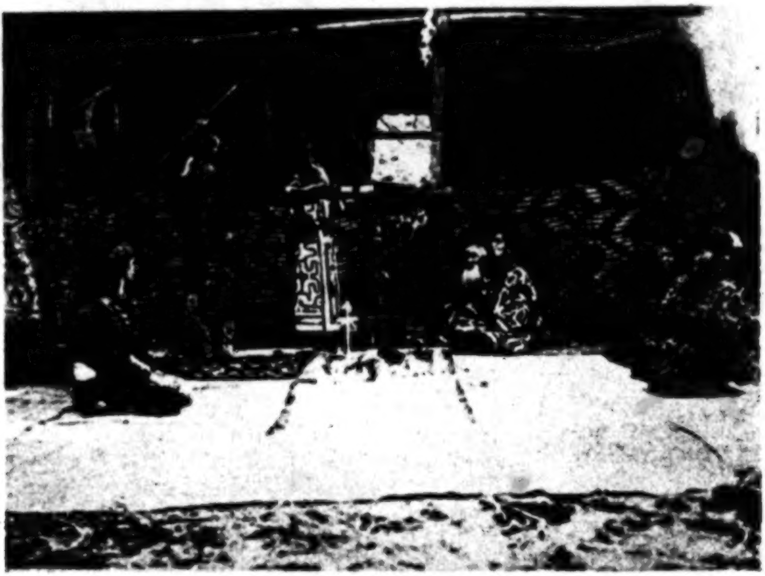

Fig. 1. Shooting arrows into roof to drive out evil spirits before the house-warming ceremony.

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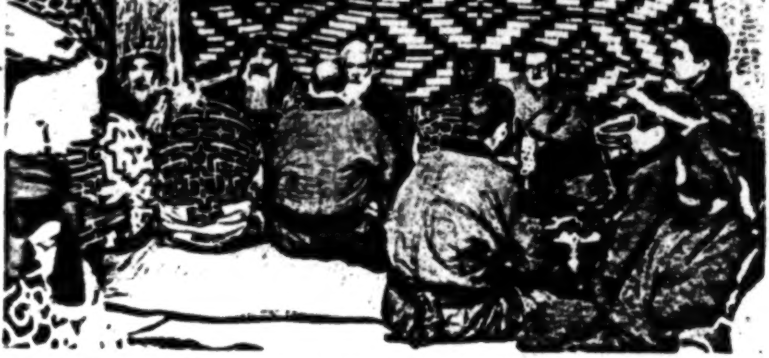

Fig. 2. The author in the *u-eshopki* (ceremonial seating) at feast after bear ceremony.

PLATE XVI. CEREMONIES IN THE HOUSE.

[p. 30, (P)]

and are therefore referred to in this book as winged *inau*.[1] They 824
are mobilized for grave emergencies, such as the outbreak of an 778
epidemic. With a few exceptions they are bevelled at the top to 782
represent a face, which is provided with a slit for a mouth. For [532]
good spirits this slants across the face at an angle which facilitates
the insertion of a single curled shaving (Pl. II, fig. 1). In the south [184]
good winged *inau* have nine wings and in the north six or occasionally seven.

There are two sizes of winged *inau*, small (*pon*) and thick (*rutoe*). 778
The former are most often employed, being set up for four important *kamui* mentioned in the last chapter, Nusa-koro, Shiramba, 782
Hash-inau-uk and Wakka-ush *Kamui*. Four are allotted to each, 776
together with other *inau* of less constant significance. The thick
winged *inau* differ only in the thickness of the stem from the foregoing. When the sacred brew was made, one was set up for Shiramba Kamui at the soul *nusa*, together with four of the small ones.
Four were set up at the place reserved for the ancestral spirits of
the bear. The bear is known as Kim-un Kamui, the God in the [825]
Mountains, but in this ceremony is addressed as Metot-ush Kamui,
the God Dwelling in Mountain Ranges.[2] At the great Bear Festival, [796]

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[1] The translation of *shutu* is uncertain. Munro states that it means ancestor, root or foundation, and this is confirmed by Arthur Waley. Batchelor translates it as war-club, and Mr Watanabe gives the same meaning. But the *shutu inau* are not shaped as war-clubs, and Munro says that the Ainu do not associate them with war-clubs. Some *shutu inau* are associated with the ancestors. Because the *shutu inau* have wings (*rap*) they have been called winged *inau* in this book. The difference between *shutu inau* and *shutu inau kamui* is not quite clear. In this chapter Munro refers to Chisei-Koro Kamui as a *shutu inau* but later (Chapter IV) this figure is described as the most important of all the 'hand-made *kamui*' (*teh-e-kara*). Except Chisei-koro Kamui all *shutu inau kamui* also have wings. In old tradition he is said to rank with Kamui Fuchi and Nusa-koro Kamui. His high position is borne out by his importance in the rites to be described later. It is quite possible the Ainu themselves were vague about these categories of *inau* although their names, method of construction, functions and ritual use may have been quite clear to all practising elders. [114]

The *inau*, whether winged or not, are offerings to the *kamui*. In the rituals described, the *shutu inau kamui* themselves receive prayers, libations and ritual dismissal with *inau*, hence they are treated as *kamui*, not as *inau*. It should be noted that Munro states that Chisei-koro Kamui represents Shiramba Kamui in the house. So it would not be strange if sometimes he is regarded as a *shutu inau* given to Shiramba Kamui and sometimes as an auxiliary *kamui* in his own right, even as a *pase kamui* in some districts, as Munro states (see Chapter VI). —B.Z.S. [776]

[2] Kim-un Kamui is the spirit of an individual bear, and every bear was believed to be Kim-un Kamui materialized in the form of skin and meat to be

south. At Shiranoka, Haruna, Kutcharo and Pihoro, disintegration 184
was general. At the two latter places several Ainu at first denied all 182
knowledge of their own culture and language, and asserted that
they had only Japanese names.

In the north, Iresu Kamui is identified with Uare Kamui as well 778
as Abe-ochi Fuchi, being called Usarawa Kamui, a name applied 776
to Uare Kamui only behind her back, so to speak, in most parts of
the Hokkaido. This name, which implies position near the lower 184
end of the hearth, usually occupied by women and children, is even 354
given to her *inau* on the hearth. Rennuikesh, however, says that it [562]
should properly be called ***shian shutu inau*** (Pl. III, fig. 1). The
ekashi inau[1] given to Abe-ochi Ekashi accumulate in his corner till [858]
they form a small forest, which at Pihoro seemed to me to run a
risk from the nearby fire. I was told, however, that their low height
is for safety, and that when the accumulation is too great some are
given ritual dismissal in a river.

Winged ***inau***, taller than those usually seen in the south, are 778
plentiful in the north. As I intended (but failed) to return for further
examination, I did not make detailed notes, but saw one with 782
seven wings and several with six. Rennuikesh, who came to Nibutani 184
at my invitation, gave me information which helps to make up [114]
for my neglect. One item is that on festal occasions Abe-ochi
Ekashi and Abe-ochi Fuchi each receive two special winged ***inau***,
his being called male (***pinne***) (Pl. III, fig. 5) and hers female (***matne***)
(Pl. III, fig. 6). Only one of his is burnt, but both of hers are burnt
as offerings, after standing during prayers and libations in the
ashes of the hearth. These ancestral (***shutu***) ***inau*** are interesting.
The male one resembles the ***ekashi inau***; the female recalls the
backward-shaven ***inau***, with the difference that the upper bunch
of curls is shaven from above and the other from below. The flat
top, too, is similar to that of the ***inau*** offered to Kinashut Kamui.
Its serpent form, in the south, is usually made and brought in to [755]
heal the sick by driving away evil spirits. I was struck by the absence
of Nusa-koro Kamui and the chaff-thrown ***nusa*** in the north, [243]
where the Ainu seem to have forgotten millet cultivation. Instead
there is an ancestral ***nusa***, crowded with winged ***inau***. But Kinashut

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[1] Abe-ochi Ekashi has been referred to as the Fire-shining Ancestor. The ***ekashi inau*** mentioned in this chapter are dedicated to him. It is not clear whether the title ***ekashi*** here means ancestor, but it probably does, as the special (***pinne*** and ***matne***) ***inau*** are ***shutu*** (ancestral) ***inau***.—B.Z.S.

THE INAU

778 Kamui is invoked for aid in sickness and difficult childbirth, as is
782 Abe-ochi Fuchi. So far as I can learn no image is made, but its
184 place is taken by an interesting *inau* (Pl. III, fig. 7). It is made of
[824] willow with six groups of curls as in the backward-shaven *inau*,
and shaven in the same direction but in long thin strips. Also with
[755] a cuplike mouth, its name, *kinashut kamui inau*, implies ancestral
associations. It is brought near the patient, and prayers for aid are
said.

At the ancestral (*ekashi*) *nusa*, are *inau* of the same type as the backward-shaven *inau*, but cut flat on top. Another type is the bird-true (*chikappo shian*) *inau*, which is a sort of twisted shaven *inau*, but is distinguished by its two upper wings and its spread-out spirals below (Pl. III, fig. 8). It is dedicated to the spirit of the eagle owl. Then there is an *inau* more highly finished than most,
[776] which is a special offering to the chief sea-god, Rep-un Kamui.[1]
He is to be identified with the grampus, which is able to kill whales and is therefore a creature of immense power. His *inau* is also called *shian* (truly existing, real), a distinction shared with some others.

778 The *inau* called *ekashi inau* (Pl. III, fig. 9), is used for augury.
Hunters insert it in the ground near the camp fire and set it alight.
787 The direction in which the burning part falls is believed to indicate
184 the direction of game. At Nibutani a somewhat similar mode of
divination is practised. After solicitation of Kamui Fuchi for a true
[782] answer, a fire-stick (*ibe-bashui*), which is a sacred object, is lightly
stuck in the ashes of the hearth, near enough to the fire to be heated but not to burn. I am told that it will wobble round and then fall, and that if it points to the upper end of the hearth the answer is favourable, and *vice versa*.

778 We may now return to the south where most of my investigation
was done. Earlier in this chapter it was stated that the sacred curled
789 shavings are regarded as *inau*, and have considerable powers of pro-
● [114] tection. They are hung from the junction of walls and roof, particularly over the place of treasures on the north side, over one south window, on the east, and in dark corners where evil spirits might lurk, and are known in these parts as house brains (*chisei noibe*). Batchelor calls them house heart (*chi sei sambe*), which is doubtless their name in some districts. They are attached to the

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[1] Ainu usually say that the grampus (Rep-un Kamui) was a kind of guardian deity of their ancestors; some say that they worship it because it rescued their ancestor in an emergency.—H.W.

THE INAU

The diagram in text figure no. 1 shows the position and numbers of the *inau* offered to important *kamui*; it will be useful for following the descriptions of festivals and magico-religious operations in southern Hokkaido. Those in the north are different; unfortunately the notes I made concerning them have been lost.

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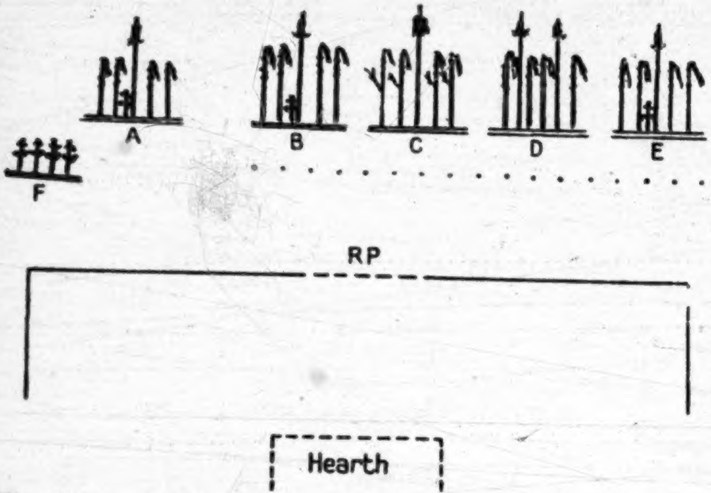
[184]
[114]

Outside the sacred window of all Ainu houses there is a series of fences called *inau-san*; these are supports or shelves for *inau*. At the northern end is a detached fence reserved for Nusa-koro Kamui (A). This *nusa* is commonly called *muru-kuta nusa*, the chaff-thrown *nusa*, because discarded millet husks are heaped up on it. Here are normally four small winged *inau* (*pon shutu inau*), and one backward-shaven *inau* (*chehoro-kakep*) with a twisted shaven *inau* (*kike chinoye inau*) for special occasions (Pl. II, fig. 5,



TEXT FIGURE 1. Diagram showing the arrangement of *inau* in the *nusa* dedicated to various *kamui* at ordinary celebrations.

A. Muru-kuta *nusa* of Nusa-koro Kamui, the chaff-thrown *nusa*.
B. Ram (soul) *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui.
C. *Nusa* of Hash-inau-uk Kamui.
D. *Nusa* for Pase Ongame.
E. *Nusa* of Wakka-ush Kamui.
F. Usual position for ceremony of ancestor worship.
R.P. *Rorum puyara*, sacred window, usually facing east.

342 tell the evil spirit why his presence is objectionable and that he
789 must go. Purification with the branches is thoroughly done at the
354 site of the hearth and round the tripod.[1] Chikube-ni Kamui is then
796 placed under the tripod and asked to protect the precincts of the
house while it is being built until the *kamui* are properly established. He remains on duty until the sacred fire in the new house is lighted. Then he is thanked, and given a libation and such *inau* as are usually given only to the weighty (*pase*) *kamui*. In the same way Imosh Kamui, though not an important *kamui*, is on certain occasions given *inau* as if he were one.

342 When the house has been built, before the House-Warming
796 Ceremony, Chikube-ni Kamui is gently taken out through the
778 sacred window and brought to the soul *nusa*. Laid at an angle
776 against the *inau* fence, with his gifts of *inau* at his side, he receives
a parting drink and word of thanks; the curled shavings are then
782 removed from his head and he is a *kamui* no more. His spirit has
returned to the god who gave it, and residual *mawe*[2] will be gradually dissipated. This is emphasized because it is the fate of all provisional *kamui* who are mobilized for service against evil spirits and given ritual dismissal when their services are no longer required. Such *kamui* are often addressed in high-flown terms, flattery being a means of ingratiation. Chikube-ni Kamui is addressed as Ainu-monka-enupuru Kamui, that is, 'Mightily Operating on Behalf of the Ainu'. Though these *kamui* are always invoked with the consent of the permanent *kamui* and usually helped by them, their *mawe* when left to itself is amoral and not to be trusted after it has done its work. I have told how two elders insisted on dismantling such *kamui* as soon as they had been photographed. Both were in a state of genuine trepidation although profuse offerings had been made to the awe-inspiring figures.

[1] In an additional note by Munro occurs the following: 'The tripod, previously erected to indicate a dwelling with its hearth, must be removed before the purification rite is performed, for fear of contamination by the evil spirits who are being beaten about the site. Afterwards a new one, free from contamination, is set up, with lighted faggots. There it remains until the roof has
● [114] been erected and thatched.' This clearly conflicts with the statement in the text. The first time Munro saw the preparation for the *Chisei Nomi* he thought the House Plot Ceremony and the Purification were one, and only after subsequent performances realized that they were separate ceremonies, the second having become habitual owing to modern conditions.—B.Z.S.

[2] *Mawe* may mean odour, breath, or wind, and sometimes may be translated
[192] as magic. In this context it can be understood as superhuman or spiritual power.—N.G.M.

342 beverage may be made surreptitiously for the ancestral spirits. The
527 ceremonial dress with patterns sewn on (*kapara amip*) should have
782 only white patterns during ministrations to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-
[411] koro Kamui and the ancestors.

To return to the ceremony. The elder who is to minister to
[292] Chisei-koro Kamui is led to his corner, and he who is to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui to the top of the hearth (8). Meanwhile the householder receives a cup of beer from the housewife, sprinkles a few drops with the libation wand on each of the backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes of the hearth at (11) on the plan, and then a few more on the fire itself. He then makes salutation and the male guests follow suit. Turning the cup so that the point of the libation wand, with its sign of the tongue, is directed towards the
[776] fire, he prays[1] to Kamui Fuchi by her titles of Iresu Kamui and in some places Moshiri-koro. While so doing he holds the cup in his left hand and strokes it with his right, an act of salutation. He tells her that the sacred beer has been prepared by her favour for service to all the gods to whom it is about to be offered. He asks her to inspire the libation wand as her messenger so that, should the prayers be unsuitably worded, the meaning will become clear to the good *kamui*. She is also besought to be favourable to the household, to rear up good children and grant prosperity.

During this prayer the other two elders attend to their duties. The housewife takes a cup of beer to the elder near the north-east corner (4), also with a libation wand on the rim. With this he gives a few drops to the head of the effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui and sometimes a few to the adjacent floor, and addresses him in adulatory terms as representative of Shiramba Kamui, asking protection for the house and all therein. The other elder performs ritual salutation to Kamui Fuchi, receives his cup, tells her briefly that he is about to obey her behest to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui, and then departs on his mission.

With two exceptions the sacred (eastern) window is always used for passing things used in ritual, such as *inau*, beer, or the flesh of
[823] sacrificed animals. The east stands for life[2] and the west for death,
[764] and until the sun has passed the meridian it would be most im-

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[1] Munro states that he has recorded this and other important prayers and
[114] placed them with translations in an appendix; unfortunately this appendix has not been found.—B.Z.S.

[533] [2] An ancient song which I learnt from Rennuikesh, and which he states has been handed down in his family for many generations, tells of the rising sun

776 at the fence of the plenteous *inau*, but his *inau* is set up at the soul
782 *nusa* or at that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui.

778 Hai-o-pira Kamui, the sword of the sword-fish, is also given
184 libation by many Ainu in this district. In the north an *inau* is set
up for him, but here he gets only thanks and beer.

Two more local spirits complete this list, though others are recognized and given the same consideration in neighbouring villages. These are Mopet-un Kamui, which is the name of a place, and Chikap-ohi-un Kamui, the name of a spot where a fabulous bird called *Furi* lived. This is supposed to have been a monstrous kind of eagle, elsewhere regarded as a man-eater, but here as friendly and helpful. In prayer these spirits are all called *Kamui Ekashi*, or divine ancestor; this may be evidence of ancestor-worship or merely of a wish to flatter them.

796 We now come to an important rite, the ritual salutation (*pase*
776 *ongami*) of Metot-ush Kamui, whose *ramat* is incarnated in the
778 bear. It must be noted that the ritual dismissal of the bear, the
well-known Bear Ceremony, is the most impressive of all Ainu
576 ceremonies.[1] In the plenteous *inau* fence are four large ancestral
782 *inau* specially devoted to this *kamui*, and two *inau* with bodies and
twisted shavings. All the *inau* at this fence are slightly higher than those at the soul *nusa* and that of Hash-inau-uk Kamui, and those again slightly higher than those of Nusa-koro Kamui. The reason for this is not clear; it does not indicate any intrinsic superiority of the *kamui* concerned, but the importance of the occasion, the ritual salutation.

For this rite the cup is filled to overflowing and the winged libation wand bearing the ancestral mark (*ekashi itokpa*) of the host is alone employed. The rite is performed publicly (*use ongami*) but with deep emotion, and forms the prelude to rites of a more secret character. I have been unable to get full information about these, but have been reliably told that at least four *kamui* are worshipped in secret at the second important salutation (*pase ongami*). These are Metot-ush Kamui again (but this time esoterically), the Eagle-owl, the 'Good Fox', and the Divine Wife, Nish-kan-ru Mat, Kamui Katkimat (Woman above the clouds).

The Ainu, in this district at least, consider the special knowledge

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● [114] [1] Unfortunately, Munro's account of this ceremony has never been received, but he sent a film which was shown at the Royal Anthropological Institute on January 10th, 1933. (See Appendix II).—B.Z.S.

EXORCISM

755 Here we are chiefly concerned with proceedings intended to
repel or expel evil spirits threatening or inflicting serious maladies.
In the case of difficult childbirth or any grave malady members of
the village throng the dwelling, the elders busy with magico-
[789] religious expedients, while all express sympathy with the sufferers.
I am told that in desperate cases old and reeking garments are
[822] waved to drive away evil spirits, and that the accumulated *Ainu
rak*, the odour of the unwashed, helps to repel them.

A public manifestation of sympathy and helpfulness, *ukaobiuki*,
796 characteristic of the Ainu, is a dancing procession called *niwen-*
789 *horipa*. When there is some untoward or tragic happening such as
731 a death by accident or the burning of a house, the important *kamui*
are invoked and a procession is formed and moves towards the spot,
535 the men in front carrying swords, the women walking behind. At
each step the men alternately stretch and bend the arm, holding
the sword vertically, and call out 'wo-o-o pfui!' The women also
stretch the right arm forward and bend it, exclaiming 'fusa!' The
sufferers await the procession, and when it arrives at the place of
the affliction it is usual to march round it three times, the men
striking out with their swords. Then a double line is formed with
the sufferers in one rank and sympathetic visitors in another, and
the procession moves up to a small *nusa* where short prayers are
said. The sufferers are then cleared of any evil influence that may
remain, by being stroked from above downwards with the swords.
Individual greetings and condolences are then said. Although the
niwen horipa is fading out in the north where the Ainu population
is sparse, in the south groups of Ainu often come many miles to
take part in the ceremony and sympathize with the sufferers.

755 The word *uepotara*, which I have rendered 'exorcism', but which
according to Batchelor implies 'solicitude', is applied in practice to
a combination of measures used in the treatment of the sick. In the
first example to be given a whole battery is brought to bear upon
[115] the patient. I was first told of it by Kotanpira Ekashi, perhaps my
best informant, but I saw it in 1933 and again about a year later.
[114] The account given of this, and the following example, is recorded
from the method employed by Isonoash Ekashi, who, though less
learned, is well accustomed to these rituals. His prayers and invocations are less classical than those of my other informants, but
those I have translated have been approved by independent Ainu
to whom I recited them.

the two women down the sides and front. There being six stones, 755
one of the women takes the last two and repeats the process. The
stones are then thrown into the river.

The next rite at the riverside takes place by the *nusa* of the *pase*
kamui and the backward-shaven *inau* of Chiu ra-pe Guru. The [778]
sword which hangs on the *nusa* fence had been laid on the hearth
in the preliminary service in the house. Kamui Fuchi had been
asked to let it represent her outside, since she cannot leave the
house. It is now flourished by the elder as mandatory of the supreme
ancestress. Chiu ra-pe Guru is believed to be thus stimulated to
action. The *huttat* switches here, which are held in high esteem,
are dipped in water. Before this purification the elder makes prayer
to Chiu ra-pe Guru in his capacity as representative of Wakka-ush
Kamui. He moves his arm with the sword held vertically, calling [782]
out, or rather blowing out, '*fuo!*' or '*fu!*', stretching his arm for-
ward and bending it while continuing his prayer. During the [783]
purification he keeps the sword upright, continuing his '*fuo!*' while
the officiating women mutter '*fusa!*'. Each woman gives the patient
six strokes with her evergreen switch. The patient's outer garment
is next removed, shaken and laid aside. Formerly the oldest gar- [735]
ment was used and then thrown into the river, but the Ainu are
now so poor that even much worn clothes are seldom discarded.
The former injunction—'*Ika ami amip use a-ana na*', meaning that [182]
the garment shed with the evil magic must not be worn again—is
no longer strictly followed.

The patient and the officiating women now wash their faces and
pour water on their heads. The water is holy, pervaded by the [778]
influence of the good spirit of living waters. Such ceremonial ablu-
tion or baptism is thus specially efficacious; water is used ritually
on other occasions, such as after childbirth and funerals, as it is
elsewhere.

On returning home there is a final ceremony, which I missed, as [114]
Isonoash had said that the *uepotara*, by which he meant the cere-
mony at the river, was ended. Nevertheless it deserves mention. [783]
The patient dons the old garment and in it receives a final purifica-
tion while the spirit guardians of the precincts take action against
further invasion. Three backward-shaven *inau* are set up, one each
for Ru-koro Kamui, Mintara-koro Kamui and Nusa-koro Kamui.
Purification is done at the *inau* of Ru-koro Kamui with an ordinary [778]
switch, and then, at the place of Mintara-koro Kamui a sickle

755

EXORCISM

[778] (*iyokpe*) is drawn six times down the front of the patient with the
point touching, but not cutting her clothes.

Approaching the end of the Pauchi Kamui exorcism the patient
[783] is taken to the chaff-thrown *nusa* and undergoes another purification,
this time with the evergreen *huttat*, as befits the presence of
an 'important' *kamui*, and, before entering the house, is finally
purified with an ordinary switch. The outer garment is hung up
[782] outside, so that any vestiges of contagion may be dissipated. After
the patient has entered the house the backward-shaven *inau* which
has been offered to Kamui Fuchi is burnt on the hearth.

755 It will have been noticed that the numbers six and four are
801 prominent in these proceedings. Six is more highly esteemed, as
Batchelor shows by many examples in his books, especially in *The
Ainu and Their Folklore*. There are six or nine wings on *inau* set
up for good *kamui*, and four on the evil *inau*. In the *uepotara* just
described, and some others, the evil *inau* are grouped in six sets
of four each. Yet good *kamui* often get four ancestral *inau*. There
are six arches and six stones, and the patient repeatedly receives
six strokes with a switch.

755 The foregoing *uepotara* has been described at some length because
it involves most of the resources at the disposal of Ainu
elders. The procedures vary somewhat in detail, as each elder
follows the traditions of his own ancestors. Personal knowledge
[115] and inquiries have assured me that Isonoash is a reliable informant,
and I have presented his material at some length in the hope that
shorter descriptions of other ceremonies will suffice.

[787] In cases of disease the diagnosis is sometimes revealed to the
patient in dreams, for example in the snake dreams of women
suffering from incapacitating neuroses such as hysterical neuralgia,
[791] defective vision, headaches, paralysis or joint affections. It is usual
to call a female medium (*tusu*), who decides which evil spirit is at
work. The woman assumes a subjective state approaching that of
[126] a trance; an invocation by an elder often induces this. I have taken
from dictation about fifty invocations relating to magico-religious
operations in the prevention and treatment of mental and physical
ailments, and hope to publish the texts at some future time.[1]

755 Spirits of the dead go normally to the Underworld, where they
753 live in much the same fashion as on earth, but those who have

[114]

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[1] Only a few of these texts have been found, and they are reproduced here in an appendix.—B.Z.S.

292

789 are animal deities. As it was only possible for Munro to obtain
776 information from a few women who trusted him and his wife, the
[123] number of *kut* groups existing remains obscure. Nor is there any
information indicating whether one deity was associated with more
than one group.

Munro was told that Kamui Fuchi instructed A-e-oina Kamui, who in turn taught the Ainu, how to make the *upshoro-kut*, and that she also laid down all the regulations associated with them in the sacred traditions. In other accounts Kamui Fuchi is said to have given instructions to various female *kamui* who assumed animal form. It will be seen below (p. 147) that some of these regulations are not relevant to matrilineal exogamy, though Munro's informants insisted that they were taboos of the *kut*. Some women believed that their girdles were given directly by Kamui Fuchi, others maintained that they proved their descent from a particular animal deity. Two informants stated that no
woman should approach the hearth unless she were wearing her
[825] *kut*. No woman should go near the caged sacred bear cub without
[841] it; if she did, the bear would show his disapproval by his hostile
demeanour. The caged bear would also show his disapproval if a
[791] woman in a state of impurity—menstruation—were to come near
[688] him. In such cases a *tusu* would be consulted, and if the woman
were found guilty she would be punished.

126 With great precautions for secrecy, Munro persuaded his women
123 informants to make five different kinds of *kut* for him. These were
292 woven from bast, which somewhat mitigated the impropriety of
789 the task performed for a man and a foreigner. They were sent to
Seligman, and have been deposited in the British Museum
(Pl. XXVIII, figs. 1 and 2).

292 When Munro broached the subject with *ekashi*, with whom he
789 was intimate, he was told that although they knew of the existence
of the *kut* they had never seen one, and they affirmed the strictness
[582] of the rule of *kut* exogamy. Old women arrange marriages or in-
[887] vestigate the *kut* inheritance of a prospective couple in order that
the exogamy ruling should not be transgressed.

● 114 These facts led Munro to postulate totemism with matrilineal
614 clans. In numerous letters he treated the matter as an hypothesis
174 and related how he was searching for further evidence, both in
existing custom and in ancient tradition. However, in his typescript for this book, and in an article he published in *Man*, No.

114

33: in March 1938, he spoke of matrilineal clans and totemism. This has now been disregarded, as no clear evidence of either clans or totemism has come to light, either from Munro's own material or from the work of other writers.[1] The matrilineal affiliation discovered by Munro applies only to females; it is not recognized by males. In March 1937 I made a communication to the Royal Anthropological Institute on the subject.[2] In it I mentioned female matrilineal affiliation, and, misled by Munro's notes, spoke of the Ainu having patrilineal clans, for which he produced no evidence; there are, however, patrilineal lineages. Munro found that some *ekashi* could trace their ancestors in the male line (*ekashi-ikir*) for as many as fifteen generations, while in spite of the importance of *kut* exogamy, women could not name theirs in matrilineal descent (*huchi-ikir*) beyond the uterine great-grandmother. 614 174 [613] 611 [613]

Huchi-ikir or *shine huchi-ikir* is the matrilineal kin group.
Ekashi-ikir is the patrilineal kin group.
Kemrit, literally blood veins, designates matrilineal relationship. [61]
Shinrit indicates the ancestors in patrilineal ascent.
Iriwak means 'family' relationship.[3]

A childless couple may adopt a child to carry out the ancestral offerings and libations (*Shinurapa*). The adopted child should be of the same *kut* as the adoptive mother, but if no such child is available any child may be adopted and the *kut* must be changed. The change is usually brought about by altering the number of the cords or by shortening them. Munro recorded one adoption of a Japanese girl by an Ainu couple, and she was given the *kut* of the adoptive mother.[4] 597 292 789 582

That women could only trace descent back to the third generation seemed surprising, considering the importance attached to matrilineal descent and it might have been supposed that it was due to a breakdown in the system. However, the researches of 611 [182]

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[1] Montandon, *La Civilisation Ainou*, Payot, Paris, 1937, p. 135, summarizes the evidence for traces of the existence of matriarchy. This, however, is not convincing. [114]

[2] A brief summary appears in *Man*, April 1937: 76.

[3] Munro gave no indication as to what he meant by the word 'family' in this context. [114]

[4] This refers to the adoption of a girl so that she may worship the ancestresses in the adoptive mother's *huchi-ikir*. For the adoption of boys see p. 151, but no mention is made whether adopted boys adhere to the exogamy rules dependent on their true mothers or on their adoptive mothers.

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582 292 789 611 4. It was forbidden for two brothers to marry two sisters, and the Ainu told Munro that the prohibition was enjoined by the *kut*. An old tradition states: '*Iri-guru, iri menoko, koro yakun utushte ekapne newa shomsan pure ne*', freely translated, 'Male blood relations with female blood relations co-wives is not custom'. It may be that this was motivated by the same idea underlying number 3. Mr Watanabe made a note at Otopuke that a very old woman told him of the same prohibition. (He recorded one case of infringement of this prohibition in another settlement.) She gave no reason but volunteered the information that a man may not marry his deceased [587] wife's sister. Munro was also told that this marriage was formerly prohibited and, though not forbidden at the time of his investigation, it was still unpopular. The usual reason given, as in number 3, was that two sisters are one in the bond of the *kut*. These three prohibitions appear to be connected with the levirate, not with *kut* exogamy.

5. A man could not marry his mother's sister's daughter because of *kut* exogamy. But there was no prohibition against marriage with the father's brother's daughter nor with the cross cousin. However, Munro only recorded two cousin marriages and those were with cross cousins.

It was thought that it was permissible for a man or woman to marry his or her brother's child, but Munro never heard of an actual case.

582 Munro recorded 98 marriages[1] and their offspring, naming upwards of 350 people, all of whom were related or connected in some way by marriage. There were no infringements of the above rules in the Nibutani marriages. It was said that dire misfortune would follow the breach of matrilineal exogamy; in the old days it would have been punished by death. There was a tradition of a couple who had sinned in this way and who hid themselves in a deep gully where a stream afterwards sank into the ground and disappeared. A story was told to Munro of a couple who, over a century earlier, had settled near Nibutani but dared not disclose their identity because of their transgression. After a long period of isolation the elders took pity on them and allowed them to become [611] members of the *kotan*. At the time of Munro's investigations it was customary for the parents of a couple who were matrilineally re-

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[114] [1] It is not clear whether these marriages were all between people living at the time of the investigation. It is probable that Munro's informants gave him the details of marriages occurring in both ascending and descending generations.

292 Badges were attached to the front of these headdresses, that of the
301 bear being the most common. Others seen by Munro early in this
century were those of the fox, eagle, falcon and grampus. Mr Watanabe states that at every Bear Ceremony new shavings were added to the headdress, each bunch contributing to the value of the whole. These headdresses were handed down from father to son.

778 For the celebration of the *pase ongami* of Metot-ush Kamui (one
.782 name for the bear *kamui*) in the House-Warming Ceremony, the
422 winged libation wand with the ancestral mark of the householder
is used. (See Chapter VII.) *Itokpa* are also cut on the winged libation wand used in connection with the Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. Reference has been made in Chapter X to the *ekashi itokpa* cut on sticks carried by hunters, which served to identify their owners
184 should they become lost.

●114 Munro worked in the Saru district as the Ainu there were less
778 influenced by the Japanese way of life than in the northern dis-
782 tricts. However, he considered that the northerners had retained
some features of Ainu culture that were not present in the Saru
422 district, and therefore he invited Rennuikesh Ekashi, whom he
532 regarded as the most reliable elder in the north, to stay with him
[115] at Nibutani. Rennuikesh cut for him the signs used on certain *inau*
stems, shown in Pl. V. These were not used in the south, and it
[769] would seem that Rennuikesh did not know, or did not emphasize,
that they were connected with the ancestor cult. However, Pl. IX, fig. 8, shows an *inau* with an *itokpa* cut on its stem. It is dedicated to Iworo-koro Ekashi. This epithet, which refers to Kim-un Kamui, the Bear God, may be translated 'Hunting-rights Territory-owning Ancestor'. Munro states that the title also applied to the wolf. This *inau* was only made in the north. Rennuikesh stated that there was also a sign composed of two deep curved cuts which represented a winding valley between two mountain crests; several elders claimed this as a special sign for their own village. Munro says: 'In certain villages they [the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate communal solidarity, if not common descent.' I will return to this later.

614 It has been noted in Chapter VII that men having the same
301 badge worship together at the *pase ongami* and recognize mutual
796 obligations. (See also Chapter VII, footnote on p. 85.) Those who
[601] join in worship of Metot-ush Kamui address one another by kinship terms.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Reference must be made to the secret worship on the occasion 614
of the *pase ongami*. At Nibutani it was performed under the auspices 796
of Metot-ush Kamui, and Munro states that at least four other 776
kamui were worshipped on this occasion. One informant told him that the *kamui* he worshipped had been revered in his patrilineage for fourteen generations. Mr Watanabe states that *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the different *ekashi-ikir* taking part in it. Mr Kubodera states that the *kamui* for whom *pase ongami* is performed differ in every patrilineage, and that they are so sacred that they are never mentioned outside the lineage. These observations [422]
of Mr Kubodera give significance to Munro's statement (Chapter III, pp. 37–8) concerning the use of the *ekashi itokpa* in the [532]
Bear Ceremony at Nibutani. 'A male ancestral sign (*ekashi itokpa*) is incised on the outspread shaven *inau* for Hash-inau-uk Kamui. . . . Two more of the same kind are placed where the head of the bear is displayed.' Thus, a link is suggested between the ancestry of the bear cub killed and the patrilineage of the elder who has reared the cub and carries out its ritual dismissal.

The importance of the bear deity cannot be over-emphasized; 825
bear meat was the most esteemed food. The Bear Ceremony— 796
actually the ritual killing of a god—was a highly important rite 776
performed in every *kotan*. A cub was captured, and treated with great respect until it had grown old enough for its ritual dismissal. Munro witnessed this ceremony many times, and it is most unfortunate that his description of it should have been lost. The bear [114]
cub has been treated with the respect due to a god since the time of its capture; it is believed to appreciate its ceremonial death, and so to be ready for its *ramat* to reincarnate in another bear who will also be caught, worshipped and killed in the locality, thus providing the same patrilineage with food.

776
Kotan has been translated 'village' when the local settlement 795
only is indicated, but it is clear that the word had a wider meaning 769
in former times, and, as will be seen, still has in some contexts at 825
the present day. According to Munro (Chapter II, p. 22) the cult of the eagle owl, known as Kotan-koro Kamui (Village-Owning [621]
Kamui) is prevalent in all localities, with 'varying importance'. He is sometimes referred to as Kotan-koro chikap ekashi Kamui (Village-Owning Divine Ancestor). At Mokoto in the north he is given special honour on festive occasions. At Nibutani, however, he was given a small offering compared with that of other *kamui*

795 worshipped at the same time, but notwithstanding this apparent
769 neglect he was held in such awe that his skull was not used as a
825 protector (*shiratki*), other birds being treated with sacred shavings
776 and used in his place. In explanation, Munro suggested that the
eagle owl might be a 'deity particular to certain Ainu'. Apparently
he did not realize the importance of his own suggestion, founded
as it was on a chance observation. However, when considered in
conjunction with Mr Kubodera's observation that in the Saru dis-
[184] trict every family worshipped two 'weighty' *kamui*, one of which
was always Metot-ush Kamui, and that of Mr Watanabe in which
he noted that the *kamui nomi* ritual differs according to the *ekashi-
ikir* of the worshipper, Munro's observation has considerable im-
portance and throws fresh light on the Ainu ancestral cult. Thus,
with his other somewhat cryptic remark: 'In certain villages they
[the *itokpa*] are, whether alone or in combination, held to indicate
communal solidarity, if not common descent', he brings forward
both positive and negative evidence that the bear and the eagle owl,
[778] both important *kamui* for all Ainu, are worshipped in the ancestral
cult of specific localities, and also that the *itokpa* are symbols of the
[614] patrilineal cult.[1] Further, the territorial character of the patri-
[423] lineages in the north is established by the information given above
by Rennuikesh.

795 Batchelor states that Kando-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Sky)
769 was also addressed as Kotan-koro Kamui (Possessor of the Village)
as was seen in Chapter I, p. 12, but unfortunately, there is no in-
776 formation to indicate whether the use of this title was common to
● 114 all Ainu or limited to certain localities.[2] Although Batchelor was
mistaken in considering this *kamui* to be a supreme deity, it is
significant that the 'Possessor of the Kotan' epithet connects the
kamui of the sky with that of a local group, and thus with the ances-
tral patrilineal cult.

795 Another indication of the importance of the *kotan* to the patri-
769 lineal ancestral group is seen in No. 10 of a series of invocations to
614 various *kamui* for aid in difficult childbirth (see Appendix, p. 166).

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782 [1] It is unfortunate that the evidence we have does not indicate whether the
845 Bear Kamui was associated with the ancestral cult in the Saru district only, or
generally among the Ainu. Munro states that in the north Metot-ush Kamui
[184] was sometimes called Iworo Kamui; thus he is identifying the Bear with a terri-
torial patrilineal group.

[2] I would like to suggest that the use may have been limited to certain territorial patrilineages.

This is made to Nusa-koro Kamui, the Kamui of the chaff-thrown 795
nusa, where, in olden times, it was customary to bury important 769
elders. On this occasion, Nusa-koro Kamui is addressed as Kotan 614
Koresu Kamui Ekashi (Ancestor Kamui who Rears the Kotan). 782
Further evidence is seen in the title Iworo-koro Kamui (see above, 845
p. 152). It is suggested that the bear, eagle owl, sky, and the chaff-
thrown *kamui* (all, it should be noted, *pase kamui*) are each, in [184]
certain localities, connected with the *kotan* or the *iwor* (see below),
territories occupied by patrilineages, and so associated with the
ancestral cult.

Kotan chieftainship has broken down. Where it still exists, suc- 622
cession follows the old custom and is patrilineal. The chief was 182
called *Sapane guru* and the office passed to the eldest son. Munro
was told that in the old days a bad chief might be put to death. [681]
Mr Seiichi Izumi states (*Journal of Japanese Ethnology*, 1951) that
since the 1890s when the Ainu lost their territorial rights to hunt-
ing and fishing grounds, the strong territorial group life has dis-
integrated. Previously, the chief presided over the patrilineal [621]
family groups—the *ekashi-ikir*—of the locality. In text fig. 8
Munro shows diagrammatically how the local groups were arranged 621
with regard to their hunting rights on the hills and fishing rights 423
in the rivers and on the sea coast. Hunting by means of a spring [224]
bow (*kuari*) was a collective activity limited by village rights. Per-
sons not belonging to these groups could not become members of
the *kotan* unless they were adopted by a local *ekashi-ikir* and given
its badge (*itokpa*), for which a valuable gift would be accepted.
Within the territory (*iwor*) of the *kotan* each family had certain [428]
exclusive rights which were transmitted from father to eldest son.
These were specified hunting rights, fishing rights in rivers and on
the coast, and the right to collect the herb from which aconite
poison is extracted. No one was allowed to enter the *iwor* of an-
other *kotan* without permission.

Mr Watanabe states that after the Ainu were given plots of land 621
for cultivation in 1885 the *iwor* organization began to disintegrate, 423
but in his recent researches in the Topachi district (1957) he found 182
the largest territorial group to be the *ekashi-ikir*, each of which was [657]
associated with its type of *itokpa*. Thus he confirms Munro's [114] ●
somewhat obscure statement that the eagle owl might be 'a deity
particular to certain Ainu', and, further, he indicates that the bear [776]
deity is associated with the *ekashi-ikir*. [769]

APPENDIX I : Invocations to the Kamui for Help in Cases of Severe Illness

THE following notes, legends and invocations, with the Ainu originals which Munro took down from dictation, were among the papers brought to me by Signor Fosco Maraini in 1960. The Ainu versions are deposited with the Royal Anthropological Institute.—B.Z.S. 114

Translation of *Upashkoma* (traditional lore):

Concerning the origin of fire and diverse deities, including Pauchi Kamui who started an epidemic of Dancing Mania among the Ainu. 539 776

In the beginning of Ainu Land, Moshiri-kara Kamui [the world-creating deity] originally caused the poplar tree to grow before all other trees. So the poplar wood was then used for fire-making [by friction], but fire was slow to come forth. Thereupon, the god, being angered, blew with his mouth upon the *retara karapash* [the white friction powder first resulting from the rub of the fire-sticks], which flew like a rising flock of birds and became Pauchi Kamui. Fire, failing to come forth from the *kunne karapash* [the subsequent black powder charred by friction], the god, enraged, blew by mouth upon it, and it was as a rising flock of black birds. This thing became Pakoro Kamui [the god of pestilence]. Then *Karasoho* [the passive piece of the fire-drill] was named the strange world powers of evil [Moshiri Shinnaisam], and became that harmful deity. Then the *katchi* [the active stick] was named Iwai-etunnai [the distant and abhorrent thing], an evil deity. Then the Chikisa-ni [a variety of elm tree] was taken in hand for fire-making. The white powder became Niso Sanke Mat[1] [female brought forth from the *niso* or the passive piece of the drill]. Then from the black powder fire came forth. Then from the lower piece Kamui Fuchi emerged. Then the active fire-stick became Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi[1] [the guardian of the village community].

Thus very ancient is Pakoro Kamui. Pauchi Kamui,[1] being a deity of no grave importance, gets no *inau*.

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[1] Footnotes concerning Niso Sanke Mat, Kotan Koresu Kamui Ekashi and Pauchi Kamui, which were indicated, have not been found.—B.Z.S.

844 [757] [825] /766 cont./
the size of pigeon eggs which are kept as treasures in every family.

To speed up the extrusion of the afterbirth they wind a narrow strip of silk around the abdomen of the woman, and /767/ she herself pushes her finger deep into her mouth in order to cause vomiting. As soon as nausea sets in, the afterbirth ordinarily separates.

The latter is wrapped together with all the other excretions in a mat and laid down somewhere outside, away from the dwelling, after sundown. If the birth took place during the night this refuse may not be removed till the break of day.

845 The Ainu have never heard of a vagina tearing during parturition, and it is probable that this never occurs with them. But there are rare cases in which the woman is unable to bring forth the child. I knew a widower whose wife had died because of this; for the Ainu do not know of artificial means to help in a difficult birth.

846 Concern with the health of a woman lying-in does not end with the birth. Until approximately ten days have passed the woman is not allowed to leave the house, even if the delivery has taken place among strangers and the woman desires to return home as soon as possible. At her departure the owner of [574] the house in which she stayed prepares soft shavings on which the woman is bedded in the sled or boat.

845 844 114 Comparing my observations of the conditions among the Ainu and the Gilyak I must come to the conclusion the Ainu women bear children with greater difficulty and more pain than the Gilyak women—And this depsite the fact that the position of the latter is considerably worse not only during childbirth but also generally in the family life. A well-known Russian research-traveller, Krasheninnikov, who towards the end of the 18th century wrote a work entitled "A Description of Kamchatka," mentions in this book that among Ainu living on the Kuril Islands the delivery of children is a more difficult process than among the peoples of Kamchatka, since the period of convalescence of the Ainu women on the Kuril Islands,

/767 cont./

845 by their own assertion, sometimes lasts as long as three months
844 after the birth of a child. In 1903, during my stay among the
114 Ainu a 32-year old woman died a few days after her delivery
who had suffered violent pains and had lost consciousness during
the birth. The child came into the world alive but died a few
days later.

846 Twigs of the taxus baccata strongly heated and then laid
824 on the body of the patient are also considered an excellent
757 remedy to help the weakened woman regain her health as fast
as possible.

844 Treatment of the Newborn.

[752] The umbilical cord is cut with a knife; the wound is
[237] sprinkled with the powder obtained by rubbing river shells together,
and the wound is then bandaged with a piece of cloth.
The navel always heals normally and a fracture of the navel is
856 totally unknown to the Ainu. They massage the head of the
844 child several times a day since the Ainu maintain that it might
otherwise be misformed. The head must be rounded back and
front and also on top. This form the Ainu try to achieve in
shaping the soft head of the child. At the same time they wrap
the child's head /768/ with soft, warm chips of wood, especially
where it is soft.

844 The newborn baby is washed with warm, clear water without
any admixture on the very first day of its life. A boy gets
a colder bath than a girl. They pour the water in small quantities
[415] from a vessel made of birch bark onto the body of the child
which they hold with the left hand over the floor while they
rub it with the right hand. It is forbidden to use water for the
bath that one has previously had in one's mouth, as is the
[753] custom among the Gilyak. The Ainu believe, that the child
will develop a disease of the eyes if he is washed in such water.

844 As soon as the child is wrapped in diapers it is given
853 nourishment. During the first day the newborn is usually suckled
by another woman who still has enough nourishment. But when
no suitable women is in the vicinity the mother herself will
giver her breast to the child right away. When the mother has

/768 cont./ When the mother has

844 853 [292] [298] no nourishment for the child during an extended period of time her breasts are tied by means of a sling of soft cloth to prevent them from moving to and fro or from flopping down. They also smear the breasts with the white sap of a plant called to pe kara kina, that is, "a milk-giving grass." Women who possess insufficient nourishment are very rare among the Ainu, according to their own claims. Ordinarily the Ainu women have more milk than the child needs, and I have repeatedly seen women doing away with part of their nourishment or feeding two children with it.

Miscarriage.

843 I have heard from several Ainu men and women that miscarriages are very rare with them.

843 114 For two years (1903-1904) I myself closely observed all changes in the population on the eastern shore of Sakhalin Island and noted down two cases of miscarriage in 1903 (one of a 29-year old woman in the eighth month of pregnancy; another of a 24-year old woman in the sixth or seventh month of pregnancy. Both bore normal, living children one and one half years later). In 1904 I noted down one case of miscarriage (with a woman in the ninth month of pregnancy). In these [163] villages there were in the years 1903-1904 a total of 25 births, and 147-155 women capable of bearing children. Among the latter I count all women above the age of 15 and below 51.

843 164 177 The Ainu do not know that a miscarriage ensues if one of the parents has syphilis. One of the miscarriages mentioned above can be ascribed to this cause (the father was syphilitic).

I have no exact knowledge of conditions on the western shore of Sakhalin Island. It is possible that miscarriages are more frequent there since the inhabitants of those regions are exposed to syphilitic infection through Japanese workers who come to Sakhalin for fishing.

843 753 The Ainu themselves explain the causes of miscarriage in the following manner:

1. If the husband has an abscess on his penis which refuses to heal, this is not considered as a disease; as long as the man does not keep /769/ his defect a secret and tells his wife and

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171 The exceptional ornamental richness of the representative art of the peoples inhabiting the basin of the Amur river and Sakhalin Island, the variety and perfection of their traditional methods of artistic workmanship in wood, birch-bark, bone, fish skins, furs and threads have, on innumerable occasions, attracted the attention of students of Siberia and the Far East. Unified in their general features while infinitely varied in the execution of details, the arts of the Nanai (Goldi), the Nivkhi (Gilyak), the Ulchi, the Orochi, the Ainu, and of other peoples are distinguished by the perfection of method and the stability
A of form, which bear witness to the continuity of the representa-
G tive themes and the ornamental motives that provide the basis
532 for the decorative compositions. Description and representation
114 of ornamentation in the dress, household utensils, boats, houses, and grave monuments are to be found in the works of Schrenk
A (1) Laufer, Shternberg, (2) Lopatin, (3) and also the investigations
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[113]

A by Ivanov (4) of the religious and secular plastic art and orna-
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[113]

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1. L. Schrenk. Die Völker des Amur-Landes, St. Petersburg, 1903.

2. L. Y. Shternberg, Aĭnskai͡a Problema (The Ainu Problem). Sbornik Muze͡ia Antropologii i Etnografii, Vol. VIII, 1929.

3. I. Lopatin. Goldy, Vladivostok, 1922.

4. S.S.V. Ivanov. Ornamentika i obriady, svi͡azannye s Amurskoĭ lodkoĭ (The Ornamentation and Ritual connected with the Amur Boat).

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Sovetskaîa Etnografiîa, 1935,
No. 4-5; Medved' v iskusstve
narodnostei Amura (The Bear
in the Art of the Amur Peoples).
Sbornik V.G. Bogoras, 1937.

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mentation of the Amur peoples. Thanks to the work of the above mentioned authors one can form a fairly accurate idea about the stylistic and thematic originality of this remarkable centre of popular decorative art, which forms a link in the chain that extends from the south to the north-east of the Pacific ocean and which, in the past, may have connected the neolithic cultures of Asia with the ancient peoples of the extreme end of the north-east and north-west of America. If there are still many unclear and debatable links in that chain, one may hope, that the increasing scope of work of the North-eastern Expedition of the Amur Peoples of the USSR will help to untie the complex knot of ethnic and historical relationships in the Amur basin and on the North-eastern shore of the Pacific Ocean.

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Having been twice a participant in the work of the expedition - on the Chikotka in 1945 and in the Lower reaches of the Amur and in the South Sakhalin in 1947--and as a member of the Institute of Art Industries I had the task of investigating the forgotten and the presently existing artistic crafts and of taking measures for their re-juvenation and development. At the same time, I /33/ studied the problems of style, genesis, development and of the spread of the ornamental forms.

The Amur-Sakhalin expedition collected a considerable amount of material dealing with the representative art of the Nanai, the Ulchi, the Nivkhi, the Orochi and the Ainu peoples. In the present report I will describe only some typical forms of the Nivkhi and the Ainu ornamentation and of their religious and secular sculpture, in order to throw a new light on the questions of the origin of the "Gilyak Bear Vessels," and on the band and string ornamentation in the Ainu Bear sculpture.

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178 problem). Sbornik,
Khavarovsk, 1933, p. 571

[113] under the conditions of life on Sakhalin island, the cult of the bear seems to prevail in these representations over the half-forgotten by the Ainu myth of the "divine snake."

Freed by the passage of time from the binding strings and the fur, the sculptural forms of the inoka are of exceptional interest, providing an opportunity of tracing the plastic metamorphosis of the mythical image of the snake into a realistic representation of the bear.

532 Interesting samples for the comparison of the bear theme
825 in the Nivkhi and Ainu carvings are provided by the ikunisi,
[171] the Ainu sticks--"usoderzhateli" (supporters). I shall first note
an unusually great number of them, some 500 samples being
•[114] known to us through the beautifully edited album and collections of the South-Sakhalin Museum. In the Ainu settlements we saw and in part acquired individual samples which have now become rarities. A distinguished craftsmanship in their execution, their richness of form, and a striking variety in their ornamentation made through the application of different methods of miniature-decorative carving, permit us to regard the ikunisi as real masterpieces of art.

Worthy of note is the symbolic-pictographic carving of the
[171] ikunisi. The materials at our disposal show not only the themes
resembling those known to us in the Nivkhi bear vessels, but also a variety of new compositions. /37/

It is typical that on the ikunisi with the bear theme, the prevailing representations are not those of the entire figures of bears, but only their heads (one or several) generally placed in the string and band nooses which are interwoven (Drawings 4 and 5). On some of the sticks the interweaving was made not by carving but with real bast strings; on others the heads are shown on the right-angled platforms, and cups are placed be-
[171] fore the bears' heads. It seems to us that these compositions
with bears' heads present an early form of the bear cult (the

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532 explain their ritual significance. However, Montandon's calling them "sticks for libation" also does not reveal the original function of these mysterious objects.

532 224 211 171 It is interesting to compare the ikunisi with the pictographic drawings on wooden boards by the shore Chukchee and with the Eskimo carvings on objects made of bone. The Chukchee and the Eskimo use these objects - the former for the commemoration of the results of a successful hunt (representing the killed animals and the actual scenes from the hunt), the latter for "the invocation of the forces of Nature producing food." Were not the ikunisi also basically commemoration plaques on which were marked the number of animals killed in a hunt and the circumstances under which the killing was accomplished? It is typical that almost all "ikunisi" generally have simple notches (varying in number) cut in at the end of the sticks. Also encountered are sticks having only notches, with neither representations nor ornament on them.

532 In spite of the astonishing variety of the artistic variations, the Ainu ornamentation stubbornly preserves its original motives. The various phases of the artistic development of these motives help to trace out and discover their material and ideological base. • [114] The investigators who have studied the Ainu art have various explanations of the content and origin of the Ainu ornamentation. In the works of Shurts, Laufer, Montandon, and especially in those of Shternberg one may come across interesting observations and hypotheses, although in some cases (Shurts and Montandon) these are not always well founded. Since in the present article I have no opportunity to analyse all the basic motives of the Ainu ornamentation described by these authors or discovered by us I shall dwell only on two, which in our opinion are most frequently encountered. Such basic motives are a string woven of bast or some other material and the twisting and interweaving snakes. (7) The motives developed on

[113] 7. The development of the form of the Ainu ornamentation from

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173 friends, a young Ainu from Taraika who owed much to me, told me
123 frankly the true reason for the reticence of the Ainu regarding the
Tonchi. These actually had inhabited Sakhalin before the arrival of
[648] the Ainu. But the Ainu tried very hard to pass over this fact in silence or even to deny it, because they were afraid that the Russians might rob them of the country and expel them from the island so dear to them once they had learned that they were immigrants and not autochthons. Thus old Ainu stubbornly withheld any information about their predecessors and forbade all clansmen to talk about the Tonchi at all and about the fact that the Ainu tribe did not constitute the original population of the country but had once immigrated from Hokkaido (Yezo) to Sakhalin. This information was confirmed to me by an old Ainu from the village of Nayero who was highly esteemed by all the inhabitants of the eastern shore including the Gilyak and Orok. He confessed to having deliberately misled me earlier. Yet after he became convinced that I was well inclined towards the Ainu he could tell the truth since he knew that I would not abuse it to the detriment of his people.

175 I have never received any detailed information when this pro-
648 hibition A among the Ainu took place, but I can understand it well. I relate it to the times of the advance of the first Russians on the island. Captain Newelski and his comrades took great pains to prove that the Japanese had no rights on the Island of Sakhalin since they had not been there long enough. Much earlier "Russian subjects," i.e. Orok, had shown up there who were mistakenly called Tungus by the new conquerors and were considered emigrants from the environments of Udsk in the Russian Empire. This political slant "which confirms the indisputable right of Russia to dominate the territory of the Island of Sakhalin" and finds its expression in thoroughly childish ethnographic fairy-tales (1) /327/ and which probably also played its part in the

114 [113] 1. See Newelski: Podwigi russkich morskich oficerov (The Feats of Russian Navy Officers). Petersburg, 1878, p. 304 and 305. This book contains

A. [For an explanation of this prohibition, see pp. 4-5--Analyst]

/327 cont'd/

● 114 the description of an Ainu bear festival and an Ainu clay hut, ascribing both to the Orok, who, however, as is well known, live only in the Tundra region and are occupied exclusively with reindeer breeding. It also quotes information obtained from certain lotsa-orok-ajnu. The latter are supposed to be descended from Russian Tungus and Ainu and to live together with pure Ainu scattered in different villages. But this information is not confirmed by anybody, Schrenk even characterizes it as outright wrong. My own research and observations have convinced me that all this has been invented by either Newelski himself or other persons who, under his orders, traveled at that time at the shores of Sakhalin.

175 648 census taken at that time, apparently frightened the autochthonous population which had already been disturbed by the appearance of a foreign unknown race. Even the more advanced Japanese were alarmed about it, for they foresaw that they would be expelled from the country where they had not yet gained a firm hold. Therefore they transferred as quickly as possible to places which up to then they had carefully avoided, namely more to the north of Sakhalin. The era of the Russo-Japanese joint rule in the south of Sakhalin, 1854-1875, developed distrust and a certain cunning diplomacy among the Ainu. When finally the Russians had become masters of the country and the Japanese were forced to quit their thriving settlements, the thought that they, too, would be forced to leave the country of their fathers, that their existence, too, was threatened, took still firmer roots in the childlike minds of the peoples there. Nor did the Japanese refrain from frightening the Ainu by exaggerated

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175 descriptions of the new rulers and measures to be expected. Small
648 wonder that ca. 800 Ainu left the island together with the Japanese, though they had never enjoyed any special attention or leniency from their yellow neighbors.

114 [115] The same Ainu friend--his name was Sisratoka--who had told me the secret of the above mentioned ban regarding the Tonchi related to me also how some years ago, in the village of Nayero, the Ainu had given some wrong information to an American traveler (2) who had come to them from the north of Sakhalin. Among other things he wanted to sound them out on the Tonchi, and Sisratoka who served as interpreter was forbidden by the resentful elders to tell the truth.

173 I have succeeded in putting down some legends about the Tonchi with their variants. But they all resemble each other strikingly and their content is the following:

At the time of their arrival in Sakhalin the Ainu found there a people that lived in clay huts and knew how to manufacture vessels out of earth. The members of this tribe called themselves Tonchi. They were not very tall nor very small, had black hair and eyes, and generally did not much differ from the Ainu. Their women did not tattoo themselves. They wore short dresses made from animal skins or Manchurian material, their footgear was sewn together from sealskin. They kept neither dogs nor reindeer. For fishing they used angling rods, no nets. They also practised sable-hunting in a way different from the Ainu, since they did not try to kill the animals but caught them in traps. By boats similar to the ones now used by the Gilyak they went into Manchuria and brought wares from there, among other things a delicate white material called para pous. From the Tonchi the Ainu also learned the route into Manchuria. The Tonchi had thievish inclinations and were particularly after Ainu girls, whom they used to kidnap. Sometimes they raped and killed them.

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2. I think this refers to B. Laufer who traveled by American order.

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese, their southern neighbours, is 175
of long standing[5], and for a considerable period the life of the Ainu had been 648
subject to Japanese influence through what was called the "basho" or 177
district system that lasted from before 1789 to 1869[6]. In 1868, Hokkaido
came under the administration of the Japanese Government: the island became
a part of the territory of Japan and colonization was started.[7] With this 177
began a process which greatly changed Ainu life, so that today the Ainu [197]
language is rarely spoken and then only by the aged; full-blood Ainus are [144]
about to be extinct; and the whole system of their subsistence has been pro- [433]
foundly altered. The most sudden and significant change in their mode of [178]
life happened in 1883 when the new Government started carrying out its [241]
programme of encouraging the Ainu to take up farming[8]. The object of 121
this paper is the Ainu as they lived their autonomous life in the last phase 101
of the intermediate period between the abolishment of the "basho" system
and the introduction of new life based on agriculture[9].

The Aim and Method.

The Ainu have interested many students concerned with, the origins of 114
this ethnic group, their customs and artifacts as well as their bodily features. 121
The result has been listings of patterns of those elements and mappings of
their distributions, but little has been known about the process of their
life, that is, how the Ainu have lived and are still living in the fields. To
take an example, although the Ainu is described to have been a gathering
people with no necessity of nomadic wanderings (HABARA, 1937, pp. 73-74,
quoted from The Aborigines of Hokkaido published by Hokkaido Government;
Note 40), scarcely anything has been investigated about how they maintained
a settled life and in what conditions and with what effects, even the ascer-
tainment alone of which may be of theoretical significance.

Man is a unique animal with unique properties; yet he remains part of 121
the biotic world and his life process at any level of organization, whether at
that of the cell, the individual or the group, is nothing but a part of nature.
This paper deals with the Ainu not in terms of the types of implements and
customs but of a life process functioning on a system of activities incorporating these means and mechanisms. The life process as such should be understood in the context of habitat, the place of abode, because no organisms can function apart from it. On the other hand, their activities should be understood in terms of the contribution to maintainance of the individual, the group and the species because this is what the students of organisms consider as the end or purpose of life process in general. From this point of view the present writer has attempted to analyse the modes and arrangements of Ainu activities with reference to their habitat and their group

124 importance, because by interview technique there would be the danger of
128 the informant supplying their own generalized and theorized explanations in place of information about the concrete activities from which the investigator is to deduce some relations. Actually there exists such a strong tendency which might lead the research worker to false interpretation.

128 In the present paper a comparison is made of the relations thus observed
121 in different Ainu groups at our time horizon and a generalized description is made of those relations which are common to all the groups. Where there
[115] is some important variation found in any group a note was added. It should be noticed that, besides the first-hand information supplied by the three informants mentioned above on the old-time Ainu groups, a considerable amount of data was obtained from at least 20 Ainu informants—two from tne Shikot or Chitose valley (Hikoichi Oyamada and Shibakichi Imaizumi, both males), one from the Azuma valley (Kentaro Yoshimura, male), four from the Mukawa valley (Kashindeashi Katayama, male; Usamtarek Okawa, male; Takaro Miyamoto, male; Itakmainu Morimoto, male), six from the Saru valley (Hachiro Kurokawa, male; Dairoku Kibata, male; Monko Kawakami, female; Tokujiro Kawakami, male; Kunimatu Nitani, male; Mopi, female), three from the mid-Tokapchi (Ritu Yoshine, female; Taijiro Tamai, male; Tome Hasegawa, female), three from the Tushipet valley (Neusharumon Kiyokawa, female; Takeo Kiyokawa, male; Hachiro Sawai, male) and one from the Kusuri or Kushiro valley (Toyosaku Kkurotake, an old Japanese born there and married to an Ainu woman). These latter belong to newer generations than the other three; they could only supply information about life experiences and observations made at periods later than or immediately following the date under survey and about hearsays from their older generations. To these occasional reference is made in the paper. Descriptions with special reference to place-names other than the upper Tokapchi, Otopuke and Atuma are based on these latter data, whereas those referring to either one or the other of the three areas or to no areas at all, that is, descriptions common to all the three valleys, are based on data concerning the anterior Ainu groups obtained through the afore-mentioned procedure.

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● 114 My thoughts incorporated in this paper have not matured in isolation. Among many persons who influenced them I may name Professor Kotondo Hasebe, formerly of University of Tokyo, who was the first to draw my attention to the importance of viewing man as a functioning organism and man's life as part of his function, and Professor Daryll Forde, of University College, London, who led me to a realization of the significance and necessity of ecological analysis in the study of human groups, through his treatise

(1947) and his suggestions personally given me in the course of my study at 114
the Department of Anthropology, University College, London, as well as through implications revealed in his lectures and seminar. Without their influence and encouragement this paper would never have been written. I should acknowledge this with gratitude.

Five major field surveys in 1951, 1952, 1953 and 1954 were carried out by 122
me as a member of the Joint Research Committee on the Ainu and were financed by the Scientific Research Grant from the Ministry of Education, Japan. I gratefully acknowledge also my indebtedness to the Ministry of Education and the members of the Committee, particulary to Professor Masao Oka, Chairman of the Committee. Two other field trips were partly financed by Mr. Hiroshi Misumi, to whom I make grateful acknowledgement.

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Finally, I should note that those persons mentioned above have no responsibility to any statements made and views expressed in this paper.

III

FOOD-GETTING ACTIVITIES

114 So much has been written about the gathering devices and techniques
22 of the Ainu that it is all but impossible to enumerate individual writings on
the subject. Comprehensive articles have been published in particular by
HITCHCOOK (1891), MONTANDON (1937) and NATORI (1945, pp. 135-212). However,
they have all followed the morphological or typological approach to the
so-called 'material culture' study, devoting most of their studies to such items
as the bow and arrow and the salmon spear to the exclusion of such important
121 items as the fishing trap and the fishing net. In short, little attempt has
114 been made to describe or analyse the Ainu system of interrelated food-getting
devices, techniques and activities, the elucidation of which system forms the
chief object of the present chapter. While dealing with those latter items as
well, it leaves out much about their technological details. It will be seen
that a greater importance is attached to the essential structure, mechanism
and use of those Ainu implements in relation to their activities whereby they
adapt themselves to their habitat, and to the organization of those activities.

121 One of the basic problems in ecology is the periodicity of community
221 activities. In this chapter, the time of the beginning or end of each seasonal
activity of the Ainu will be referred to by the Ainu month and/or the solar
calendar month[26]. However, what is important in this paper is not the time
itself but the degree and nature of correlation between the periodicity in
Ainu activities and that in the phenomena in their habitat. To examine this,
data concerning ecology and ethology of biotic species are indispensable, the
most important of which are given in the notes of this chapter.

227 Fishing Devices.

The Fish-spear.

The fish-spear, *marek*, is a long wooden shaft, with a flexible iron prong
so fixed to the end that the point may be hooked to prevent the fish caught
from falling off in bringing it up (Fig. 2, a). The spear was classified into
two types: those with a large hook, *shiipe koiki marek*, used for such larger
fishes as dog salmon and Hucho perryi, and those with a smaller one, *ichaniu*
226 (*or ichanui*) *koiki marek*, for such fishes as cherry salmon and dace. Both
227 were used alike by the fisherman either standing in a dugout, on the bank
or in the stream, or sitting in the peep-fishing hut, *worun chise* (Fig. 2, b).
Night spearing was accompanied with a torch for illumination. Torch-light

with the deer fence, no setting of spring bows was allowed on the lower 224
plain or on the lower reaches of a valley, where not only hunters but Ainus
in general had occasion to go about.

Deer Fence.

The *kuteki*, a wooden fence construction for catching deer, varied in 224
length from a few hundred metres to several kilometres. It had narrow open- 417
ings at certain intervals where spring bows were set with poisoned arrows.
The deer fence was usually set up near oak woods, *komni-tai*, on the level [311]
plain or near woods of mixed trees by streamlets, *nitat*, on the wide slopes
of a hill, intercepting the deer tracks. It was built and used either by one [476]
independent family or by two or three families from the same settlement
cooperating as a hunting group. The deer track, *yuk apiri*, remained com-
paratively stable, so that the same structure was repaired and used over suc-
cessive seasons by the same cooperative group that built it. The deer fence
was usually erected neither too far from the settlement nor too near. Usually
situated within only 4 or 5 kilometres, it was easily patrolled by visitors
from their homes. However, some families from Nitmap in Tokapchi built
their deer fences farther away than the others; the hunters migrated every
season to huts erected near the constructions (Map 2).

MATUURA, on his official exploration of the Ainu territory in 1857-58 ob- [114]
served and recorded an actual example of a long deer fence constructed on
a hill slope not too far from Ainu settlements (MASAMUNE, ed., 1937, Vol. 2,
p. 396).

Hunters' Hut.

While hunting in the hills and mountains, the Ainu used two different 224
kinds of hunters' huts. The distinction is made, not according to the style 342
or construction, but to the use and location of the huts. One type, set up
near the winter quarters of deer and used chiefly for deer hunting was usu-
ally known as *iramande chise*. The other type, built near the hibernation
centre of bears and used mainly for bear hunting, was usually called *Kimun
kashi* or *kucha ko chise*. The difference in location between these two kinds
will be described later in sections dealing with deer- and bear-hunting. In
either case, the hut was located in a dale valley, and the area lying upstream
formed the hunting ground, i.e. *ku ari ushi*, place for setting bows, for the
occupants (p. 59). The hut rectangular in plan and measuring ca. 5×4 to 3×2
metres, was roofed with bamboo grass or bark of fir trees. Usually, it had
four walls, but sometimes a mere gable served the purpose. Except in the [343]
absence of a porch and outdoor frames for drying meat and the addition of
a small shed, *ku o kashi*, for storing spring bows and arrows, the fundamental

105 423 619 The river valley constituted a unit area of resource distributions; the territory formed a nearly or completely self-contained unit of Ainu habitat. Within this were territories of minor categories which were seasonally maintained by such smaller groups as the local group, the cooperative group and the individual household. These might be hunting or fishing sites exploited by means of fixed devices or concentrations of certain specific resources which annually recurred at the same places.

105 182 7. The ecological system of the Ainu functions on adaptation of their techniques to the spatio-temporal structure of the activities of biotic species. The Ainu system of relationships in beliefs and ritual of man and nature is their own theory and practice for maintainance of the ecological system.

105 619 771 [776] [614] 8. The Ainu system of social solidarity between man and nature was established on the principle of coresidence or local contiguity within a river valley as the territory of the river group. Ainu cosmology emphasized its component of spatial orientation; nature, i.e. *kamui*, were ordered on local basis. The effective ritual relationship between those spatially oriented *kamni* and the Ainu was in the hands of the patrilineal kin group of males which was the basis of Ainu local organization.

121 Every organism leads its concrete life in a given environment; that no animal can function apart from its habitat is amply shown in animal ecology. It follows that when we look at man as a functioning organism and try to understand his group life as part of a living system, the relationship of the group with its habitat should be first examined. The present study shows that between the Ainu and their habitat there exist two systems of interrelations working on quite different levels: the first is an ecological system, i.e. a system of relationships through technological activities of man with habitat, and the second, a system of social solidarity between man and nature, i.e. a system of relationships through beliefs and rituals of man with habitat.

[114] Significance of ecological factors relevant to group structure has been worked out by STEWARD (1938), EVANS-PRITCHARD (1940) and FORDE (1947) and the importance of the relationships through native beliefs and rituals between man and nature in connection with social organization has been shown by RADCLIFFE-BROWN (1952) and FORDE (1954), while the present study on the Ainu shows the reciprocal adjustment between the ecological system and the system of social solidarity between man and habitat and the group structure.

175 361 "basho" (districts) on Etorof of the Kurile Islands not one contained twenty houses. Only a few had a population of more than a hundred. In some cases a single house constituted a settlement" (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 27).

● [114] For more concrete and comprehensive data on the size and distribution of Ainu settlements in those gathering days, reference should be made to T. MATUURA, "Yezo-Nissi-shū" (Collected Diaries in Yezo, edited by A. MASAMUNE, 1937). The book covers a series of explorations made in Ainu territories in 1857-1858 by Takeshiro Matsuura, an official of the Tokugawa Shogunate. In spite of the extremely great value of the data it contains, the book has never received a wide utilization it deserves. Hence the data from his diaries have been tabulated by the present writer as follows:

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Tokapchi River (in descending order of location)

Name of Settlement	Number of Ainu Houses	Number of Household Members in Each House	Remarks
Kamuiroki	1	4	
(No name mentioned)	2	5, 4 (the latter represented by an old woman).	Located near Satteki.
(No name mentioned)	2	2, 8	
Makunbetu	1	4	
Nitomafu (Nitmap)	3	23 in total	Arayok, the headman, and his lineage.
Okatomanai	3	2, 5, 7	
Hibaushi (Pipaushi)	2	(Number not stated)	
Chifuru	1	5	
Saoroputo	3	4, 5, 5	
Memroputo	2	4, 4	
Bibairuputo (Pipairuputu)	8	2, 2, 3, 4, 4, 6, 6, 7	
Obereberefu	2	4, 4	
Nubuka	4	(Number not stated)	
Hetchara	1	(Number not stated)	
Jiroto	5		
Horonokotcha	2		
Iikanhetu	10		
Kamokinai	4		
Yamwakkahira	Some		Some millet fields.
Furukeshi (Chyota)	8		
Onnenai	2		
Tohioka	2		
Seyoi	4		
Tanneota	6		
Barautuka	2		

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Akan River, a tributary of the Kushiro		
Ikitaraushi	1	
Akihetu	3	
Soushi	3	
Fuushinai (Shitakaro)	4	2 houses were represented by an old woman respectively.
Shitakaroputo	5	The most downstream settlement. 2 houses represented by an old woman respectively.

(**11**) To quote from a report on the Saru Ainu: "The word *kotan* is used 621 in two ways: as a residential area, and as a territorial group forming an integrated social unit. The *kotan* in the latter sense had an hereditary chief, [622] called *kotan kor kur*". And again: "The two territorial groups (the two *kotan* of Panke-Pirautur and Penke-Pirautur), though distinct as residential areas, were socially and politically one Pirautur *kotan* ruled over by a single chief. So was Penakori; though divided now in two separate areas, it has always been a single *kotan* politically". (Izumi, 1951, p. 33). No attempt, however, has been made to study more minuntely the inner-structure and interrelationship of these two groups.

(**12**) For the kinship organization of the local group, a conclusion has already been offered by Takakura on various historical documents, as follows: "Such *kotan* as came under our observation were more complex, embracing elements from other *kotan* besides their own kin: some of the larger *kotan* comprised of a mixture of more than two kin groups. But the core and substance was an extremely narrow kin group" (Takakura, 1942, p. 28).... The chief of a [622] *kotan* as kin group (*kotan koru kuru*, *kotan* owning man) was naturally the family head (*chise koru kuru*) of the head house (*porochise*) as well as the head of the kinsmen (*utarapake*) (ibid., p. 29). "In time the *kotan* came to embrace a number of non-consangunity elements from other areas, but it was ruled out to receive any except through some kinship relations. A mere territorial relationship might mean a proximity of residence but little social integration" (Teikoku Gakushi-in, ed, 1944, p. 59).

A report by K. Sugiura and S. Izumi on a joint survery they made of [114] ● the Saru Ainu in the summer 1951 fails to shed much light on the role of kinship in the Ainu local group. In fact, practically all they have to say on the subject is: "It is acknowledged by elders of the Saru basin that formerly some *kotan* were organized by the male members of the *shine* (one and the same) *itokpa*. But changes in the *kotan* in recent times make it extremely difficult for the writers to verify their view. As seen today, a *kotan* may embrace more than two *ekashi ikiru*; yet some *kotan* carry suggestions that

tive participation of the *ekashi ikiru*. Nor are there signs of the cooperation 621
of the *ekashi ikiru* as a whole for such economic purposes as ownership of 622
community property or cooperation in production and distribution. The 614
only exception is the reported presence in the field of politics of what is called '*utaru pake*'; but what the post actually was remains unknown" (SUGIURA, 1951, p. 20). At any rate, the relation between *kotan* (local group) and *ekashi ikiru* (kin group) has never been made clear, and not without reasons.

A perusal of the reports by SUGIURA and IZUMI makes one suspect that, 621
from the difficulty of securing competent informants, they could not obtain 614
any concrete data on the social activities of the Ainu as observed and parti- 114 ●
cipated in by the native informants themselves in the days before the introduction of land allotment with more or less universal redistribution in their habitation and the destruction of their traditional group life. Another important factor accountable for their failure seems to be their regarding *ekashi ikiru*, *itokpa* and *pase onkami* as mere symbols of the Ainu kin group, or as mere criteria for distinguishing one group from another. The result was an almost complete disregard of the inherent meaning and function of these instiutions.[1] The term "*ekashi ikiru*", for instance, is treated as if it were an everyday word for the patrilineal kin group of Ainu males as a mere social unit. As used by the Ainu themselves, it meant the unit group that observed *kamui nomi* rituals including *pase onkami*. Moreover, the word was exclusively for use on the occasion of, and in connection with, *kamui nomi* rituals. Again, *itokpa*, instead of being a mere family crest for showing lineage, was the very mark of ancestry to be incised on such objects as the *inau* for offering to *kamui spirits*. It also formed an essential item of the rites of *kamui nomi*. The *itokpa* and *kamuinomi* through spatial orientation of the *kamui*, maintained an inseparable connection with the habitat of the Ainu. With these rituals for cosmological adjustments, their technological adaptation to their habitat was made complete. In a sense their social organizations were means to maintain those relationships. Such, then, are some of the considerations that are prerequisite to an understanding of the Ainu groups (Chapter IV).

(**15**) Obtaining new *ekashi itokpa*, patrilineal ancestor mark—cases and rea- 614
sons. 608

TAKAKURA, on historical evidence, remarks: "Though the sharing of a 778
family mark in common was based on the fact of consanguinity, its use was sometimes extended to those not related in blood. For example, a male servant from a different area living with a family might be favourably admitted and made a sharer of the mark of the family" (Teikoku Gakushiin, ed., 1944b, p. 57).

[1] [Errata: the word "instiutions" should read "institutions". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

obtained that difference in forms might correspond to different social status of 611
the ancestry, different characteristics of the *kotan*, and different river courses 292
and districts. It is also suggestive of the presence of a place of origin to each matrilineal ancestress and of difference in rank of each *huchi ikiru* line. At any rate, if *shine upshoru* relationship has perpetuated itself through centuries (meaning perhaps that the forms of *upshoru kut* have been handed down from generation to generation matrilineally), a very small variety of ancient *upshoru kut*, originated by a few ancestresses, must have come down ever spreading without people's knowing (SEGAWA, 1951, p. 69).

As is pointed out by SEGAWA, the secret nature of the *upshoru kut* barred female members themselves from a direct and actual knowledge of girdle forms worn by other members. It is noteworthy that actual identification of female members of a *shine upshoru* was made, not by different forms of the *upshoru kut*, but after all by tracing female forebears back along the matrilineal line, that is, the line of the *shine huchi ikiru*. In short, even if the members of a *shine huchi ikiru* shared one form of *upshoru kut*, it may not follow that bearers of one form belonged all to one *huchi ikiru* membership.

For forms, beliefs, myths and other ideas and practices relating to the *upshoru kut* see reports by KŌNO and NATORI (KŌNO, 1931; NATORI, 1945, pp. 91-112 and pp. 185-201). It should be also mentioned that MUNRO gives [114] ●
new important information of various girdles attributed to various *kamui* (MUNRO, 1962, pp. 142-3).

(**20**) The practice of avoidance in marriage, since it was more aversion than 582
prohibition, was susceptible of evasion in compelling circumstances. If need 611
be, man and woman of the category were enabled to marry by going through [292]
a ritual procedure: the woman concerned went through a ritual known as *upshoru kikiraye*, at which she changed her *upshoru kut*, the girdle she wore, made for her by a woman of her proper *huchi ikiru*, usually her grandmother or mother for another *upshoru kut* prepared by a woman of the other *huchi ikiru*. There is no evidence of her marriage then requiring any sanction of the whole *huchi ikiru* group. It seems that it could take place simply at her parents' discretion and with due ritual observance at their hands.

(**21**) They were usually her matrilineal close relatives such as her mother, 611
sisters and/or daughters who were convenient to come to her. Only when 602
they failed, any woman related to her by *huchi ikiru* kinship would be called instead. There also could be and actually were some women of the same *huchi ikiru* who knew one another only by their names but had never met together. SUGIURA reports an interesting case of a woman, Teki, from the Atsuga valley who married a man in a distant *kotan* in the Saru

241 (39) Origin of plant cultivation among the Ainu.—According to the latest
175 research by TAKAKURA, the oldest literature on Ainu farming is contained
114 in "Recorded Talks on the Ainu" written by Kanzan MATSUMIYA who visited Hokkaido in 1710 in company with the administration inspector of the Tokugawa Shogunate (TAKAKURA, 1957). It is a simple description of the farming conducted by natives in the vicinity of the Matsumae Area or clan territory. Then comes a more detailed account in an official document of the Matsumae feudal clan dated 1715, "A Report submitted by Matsumae Shimanokami in the Fith Year of Shotoku." The conclusion drawn by TAKAKURA is that even before 1715 small-scale farming had been practised by the Ainu in south-west Hokkaido but that no definite evidence is yet available to prove its introduc-
[177] tion from the Japanese (ibid., p. 15). "A History of Hokkaido" states more definitely that, in spite of its obscurity of origin, Ainu farming may be safely regarded as modeled on Japanese farming in view of the crops grown and the extent and the methods of cultivation. Millet, Deccan-grass and turnips were about all the crops raised, and their cultivation, according to the Matsumae report of 1715, seems to have been confined to the area between Shiraoi in the east and Shikotan and southward in the west. There are, however, indications that some farming was practised also in Tokapchi and at Shiranuka in Kushiro (Hokkaido-cho, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 215). Takeshiro MATSUURA, an official of the Shogunate who explored the Ainu territory in 1857-58, recorded his observations of cultivated plots found all over the areas he visited except the depths of such great rivers as the Ishikari, the Tokapchi and the Teshio (Note 10). The old Ainu agricultural implements and techniques are described in detail in HAYASHI's article (HAYASHI, 1958).

361 (40) A generalized statement regarding the stability of Ainu settlements on Hokkaido may be found in HABARA's quotation from 'The Aborigines of Hokkaido' published by the Hokkaido government. "Nomadic habits are unknown to the Ainu; however, they have not infrequently moved for reasons such as pressure from other settlements or facilities found in a new site.... The great majority, however, have lived for generations in the same places" (HABARA, 1939, pp. 73-74). The other quotations cited by HABARA from old documents in discussing this problem and the interpretations of, and reconstructions on, those documents offered by him, seem to impress the reader as if the Ainu in general had a moving or migratory habit (ibid., pp. 107-112). But as far as the inland Ainu surveyed by the present writer were concerned, there is not the slightest evidence of a general habit of frequent migrations, although at times some individual families moved for hunting purposes or went on a visit to distant relations and, on rare occasions, might even have stayed over several years, as seen in Notes 16, 24 and 25. Nor is

Tungus RU5
Ainu AB6
Sakhalin

/xxxiii cont./

T 114 His great merit lies in the fact that, thanks to him, a number of /xxxiv/ young investigators have directed their research to the study of the Tungus; he widely shared his experience, his knowledge, and his thoughts with his students and inspired them to work with his enthusiasm.

Shternberg devoted far less time to another Far Eastern
A ● 114 nationality, the Ainu, than he did to the Gilyak, but he nonethe-
G [114] less succeeded in studying them quite thoroughly, which is evident
from his outstanding last work before his death, "Ainskaia problema
/The Ainu Problem/" /untranslated/, where various aspects of Ainu
life are touched upon, and historico-cultural, anthropological,
archaeological, linguistic, and other materials are utilized.
A [174] Shternberg in this work shows that the Ainu are not Mongols and
are not Paleo-Asiatics, as they were considered to be, but are related with respect to culture, language, and anthropology to the peoples of Indonesia or Austronesia. This hypothesis, along with new discoveries in the realm of the past migrations and intercourse of the Pacific peoples, opened before him broad horizons for explaining the past fate of the Pacific peoples, including our Far Eastern peoples, but his unexpected death cut off these broad scientific plans.

In the work "Kul't inau u plemeni ainu /The Cult of inau among the Ainu/" /untranslated/, Shternberg gives a detailed description of this peculiar cultural phenomenon and advances the clever proposition that inau (sharpened sticks) are not offerings, as was supposed earlier, but intermediaries between the gods and man. Here we should also note Shternberg's interesting thought on the relationship of this cult (and also the cult of the twins) with the cults of India.

G * 114 With his many-faceted research on family-clan relations, common law, religious beliefs, primitive art, and national languages and folklore, as well as the archaeology and anthropology of the Far East, L. IA. Shternberg quite deservedly won for himself a name as the best expert on the peoples of the Far East and, along with this, one as the best Russian ethnographer of his time.

2: Schrenck--29 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Ainu AB6●
Goldi RX3
Orok

G /16 cont./

101 It is different from the Amur on the Liman and along the coast of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in that there on the mainland, between the Gilyak and Orochi areas, there is a considerable stretch of uninhabited territory, which -- for reasons that we shall touch on later -- keeps the two peoples strictly
Gi separated. On Sakhalin, however, with regard to the Ainu and
A Orok, there is repeated, and in part to an even greater degree,
101 what we have seen on the Amur and on the Sea of Okhotsk. On
A the west coast of the island some permahent Ainu families have
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101 mixed with the Gilyak even before they reach their southern
162 boundary. For example, it was said, as the Gilyak in Arkai told
361 me, that of the villages south of Duĭ, Adngi was still purely
103 Gilyak, Kthēus contained two Gilyak and one Ainu yurt, Chogranj again was inhabited only by Gilyak, and, finally, Pilja-wo was
A inhabited half by Gilyak and half by Ainu (4). The latter /17/
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4. Coming from the north, Schmidt, too, met the first Ainu in Kthēus, which, moreover, at that time consisted of only two miserable yurts. He likewise calls Chogranj
A an Ainu settlement ("Histor. Ber.," etc.,
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●[114] op. cit., pp. 65, 66). Again, however, I cannot agree with the version of the names for the above-mentioned places, "Ktausi," "Chokkoran," and "Pil-wo," on Schebunin's map.

place bears among the Ainu the designation "Poro-kotan," with
G the same meaning as its Gilyak name, "Pilja-wo," that is,
361 "big village" (1). Beyond this place the coast is uninhabited for
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[113] 1. Rudanofskij, too (Vostochnoe Pomor'e /Eastern Seaboard/, 1866, p. 96), calls Poro-kotan or (Gilyak) "Pile-wo" the first Gilyak village as one approaches from the

RX2
Ainu ABC
Goldi RX3
Orok

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113 /17 cont./ 1. (cont.)
south. He counted ten yurts. The Gilyak named only three to me, which makes the designation of the place appear somewhat uncalled for. According to Schmidt, however (op. cit., p. 67), it is said to have actually been a large village in former times, but in his time there were still only three poor yurts.
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● [114) Mizul's statement (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina v" sel'skokhoziaistv. otnosh. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island from the Point of View of Agriculture/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 129) that there are no longer any Ainu north of Pilja-wo (Porokotan) is therefore not quite correct, according to the above.

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361 a long stretch and is only temporarily visited by the Gilyak for their livelihood. Schmidt, for instance, on the river Arokonai, between the capes Tribis and Tunai, met a Gilyak who had
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437 been seal-hunting near Otta-endu (2). Occasionally it also

2. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," op. cit., p. 71.

happens that Gilyak on trading trips to Ssiranussi, at the southern point of Sakhalin, are obliged to stay somewhere for the winter, and in this case they may easily be taken for permanent inhabitants of the place.
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361 The border conditions on the east coast of Sakhalin are more complicated than on the west coast, in that three peoples, Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok, come together there (3). To be sure, the area of the first, as we saw above, ends

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[113] 3. See my travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-mathém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb., Vol. XV, p. 171; Mél. phys. et chim. tirés du Bull., Vol. III, p. 11.

RX2
Ainu ABL
Goldi RX3
Orok

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/17 cont./
on the coast with the village of Tschamr-wo and in the interior at the headwaters of the Tymy, but nevertheless in the Gulf of Patience, near where a coastal lake empties in the sea, one still comes across a Gilyak yurt, Ssiska, whose inhabitants Schmidt came to know (4). On the same lake there is an Orok settlement, Tschogbo, to the north a second one, Taran-kotan, and still farther to the north on Lake Taraika, alongside several Orok settlements, the large Ainu village of Taraika (5). Thus, the

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4. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 113.

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5. Schmidt, op. cit., pp. 89, 113, 116. Bickmore ("The Ainos or hairy men of Jesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Islands," Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 13) thinks that there are Ainu also at the northern point of Sakhalin, between Capes Elisabeth and Maria and even sees in this proof that the Ainu were the original inhabitants of the island, while the Gilyak and the Orok (for him, "Orotschi" /Orochi/) were later immigrants. But this information stands quite alone and is evidently only based upon an erroneous interpretation of Russian reports concerning the number of Ainu villages on Sakhalin, since he thought that the villages noted on the "Okhotsk coast" must be erroneously placed there instead of being sought on Sakhalin's east coast. Why the great number of these villages (22) did not seem to him obstructuve for such an interpretation is incomprehensible, especially since in the same report (Rudanofskij's) the total number of the Ainu villages on the densely populated west coast of Sakhalin is given as 35.

A G Gi 101 /17 cont./ dwelling sites of these three peoples intermesh here. These relationships become even more complicated, however, by the fact that the Orok have shoved in between the Gilyak and Ainu not only here, but also in the northern part of the island, where undoubtedly Gilyak territory extends, they have penetrated deeply into it and roam great distances through it on regular nomadic expeditions. We shall learn more about these relationships in the discussion of the area of distribution of the Orok.

A 131 Just as the Gilyak occupy the extreme northeast, the Ainu occupy the extreme southeast of the Amur region as outlined above, and just as the northern half of Sakhalin Island belongs to the former, so /18/ the southern half belongs to the latter. A [101] Moreover, it is well-known that they represent the indigenous people of Jesso /Yesso (Hokkaido)/ and the Kurile Islands, since the so-called Kuriles are merely Ainu with a language differing in part dialectally. We have already become acquainted with the habitation sites of the Ainu located farthest north on Sakhalin and on the west coast advancing into the Gilyak area. There has likewise been mention of the uninhabited coastal stretch which extends to the south from Porokotan. It ends at 49° north latitude, and then the part of the island inhabited exclusively by Ainu begins. Thus in the west of Sakhalin this deserted coastal stretch forms the actual boundary between the Ainu and the Gilyak, and evidently special, though obvious reasons, which will be discussed later, were required in order to make many an individual of the former people step over this northern border into foreign territory. A 361 Coming from the north, the village of Orokes, located on the small bay of the same name and not far from the Bay d'Estaing, is the first A [131] in true Ainu territory (1). On the east coast it begins, if one

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1. According to Rudanofskij (Vost. Pomor'e, 1866, p. 95). Brylkin ("Pis'ma s" Sakhal. /Letters from Sakhalin/." —Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, Irkutsk, 1864, p. 14) gives "Ussuri" as the

/18 cont./ 1. (cont.)

361 northernmost village inhabited exclusively
[113] by Ainu, but I suspect that there is a print-
● [114] ing error in this name for "Urussi." On
[103] Schebunin's map a village "Urotzi" is shown
immediately south of Orokes. This is probably meant.

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131 leaves aside the aforementioned village of Taraika which is separated by Orok settlements, only slightly more to the north, about at Naioro. Speaking precisely, the Ainu therefore do not inhabit the entire southern half, but only a little more than a third of the island. In this part, moreover, they occupy not only the coast, but also, in smaller numbers, the interior of the island,
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167 along some of the larger rivers (2). The true Ainu island, with

[113] 2. Rudanofskij, loc. cit., Avgustinovich', Zhizn' russk. i inorodts. na ostr. Sakhalinie /The Life of the Russians and of the Aborigines on Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1874, p. 39.

the densest population of this tribe, is, however, Jesso, from where the Ainu have spread, not only northward to Sakhalin, but also northeastward by way of the Kurile Islands. Their territory extends over almost the whole island chain of the Kuriles up to Poromuschir /Paramushir/ or the so-called "Second Island," which they occupied even before the arrival of the Russians in Kamchatka. The island of Schumschu /Shumshu/, on the other hand, the last toward the north or the first from Kamchatka, received its population first from this peninsula through Kamchadal or Italmen who fled before the Russians and later mixed with the Ainu (Kuriles)
131 who came over (3). The fact that formerly the Ainu also

[113] 3. Krasheninnikov", "Opis. zemli Kamchatki /Description of the Kamchatka Region/,"

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SS. /91 cont./

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Concerning the other point touched on above, the very evident preponderance of the Tungusic population in the Amur region on the comprehensive ethnographic map of Asiatic Russia, this at first glance is less striking on our map, and, to be sure, for the reason that on it the Tungusic tribes are not thrown together indiscriminately, but are kept apart by different colors. One need only combine them, however, and contrast them with the tribally different Gilyak and Ainu, in order to have a clear picture of how great their spatial preponderance is over the latter, and, on the other hand, how these latter are limited to only the extreme edge of the continent and the adjacent islands. And so, from the spatial relations of the distribution of peoples in the Amur region, we must already face the idea that the Gilyak and the Ainu were pushed to the edge of the continent by Tungusic peoples -- an idea that will find further proof in the historical and ethnological observations of the following sections.

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Section 2

Changes and shifts in the areas of distribution of the Amur peoples in historical times, according to Russian, Chinese, and Japanese reports, along with an examination and interpretation of the tribal names current in the Amur region or concerning it

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If it is not easy, and often hardly possible, to define with any accuracy the present areas of distribution of seminomadic hunting and fishing peoples in a vast area as yet little explored, how many more difficulties appear when it is a matter of questions such as what changes in the areas of distribution of these peoples have taken place in the course of time? When and from where did this or that one of them move into its present location? And what other people did it drive out of it? Also, I must note from the start that quite definite and adequate answers to these

RX2
Ainu AB6
Goldi RX3
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

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/117 cont. /

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buyers of the furs captured by them and among them the fox skins common on Sakhalin; or, what seems more probable to me, the name originated because the Gilyak in former times, with greater wealth than the Ainu, for the most part were themselves clothed in fox skins (5).

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5. In the seventeenth-century tale from the great Amur River (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, p. 20) it is said that the Gilyak on the large island facing the mouth of the Amur wore sable and fox fur clothing.

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The situation is different with regard to the customary Japanese name for /118/ the Amur dwellers from Tungusic tribes who come from the mainland to Sakhalin for trade. I must note at once that they are not only Olcha, but in like measure Goldi, who, however, are not distinguished by the Ainu and Japanese, but rather are covered by the collective name "Santan" or "S'janta." And then the region inhabited by them, the Amur region, is designated by the same name, after the people (1). Mamia Rinsô's predecessor, the Japanese

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1. During his visit to the island of Jesso /Yesso/ (1792), Adam Laxmann heard the Japanese speak of the "Sandan-aino" (Sandan people), who came to Sakhalin to trade; he, however, took them for Koreans (cf. Polonskii, "Kurily." -- Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 493, 541). Krusenstern was quite erroneously told by the Japanese on Jesso and on Sakhalin that this latter island, or, as he heard in Aniwa, even only its northern part, was called "Sandan" by the Ainu

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Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island
Goldi RX3
Ainu AB6

F.J. A 114 103 113

/118 cont./

1. (cont.)
(see his Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 49, 52, 63).

61 175 131 F.J. 175 114 A F.J. 61 101

Mamia Rinsô's Predecessor, The Japanese traveler Mogami Tok'nai, who, however, did not travel beyond Sakhalin, placed the region of Santan on that part of the mainland closest to the island; according to him, it extended from the mouth of the Amur River, along its right bank, and along the seacoast up to about 50° north latitude. For the name of the people and the region, however, he had a far-fetched explanation from the Chinese language (2). Mamia Rinsô, however, who had visited the Santan region, realized at once that that name comes neither from the Chinese nor from the region and its people, but was given to it by the Ainu and Japanese. His better trained ear enabled him to hear the name Santan also as "S'janta" and "Z'janta" (3). My widely-traveled Olcha from

2. "Santan," according to this, was supposed to be a more recent name: formerly the region and people were called Itan or Kitan, which means "red-striped savages." With the advancing culture, the barbaric peoples left the coasts and plains and moved back into the mountains; hence they were called San-tan, that is, red men of the mountains. Siebold, in giving this explanation, adds (Nippon, VII, p. 198, note 3) that this region may be found on a map of Japan, copies from a Japanese original, which was published by Reland at the beginning of the last century in Amsterdam, designated with the Chinese characters Han than.

Ainu AB6 ●
Early Japan AB3
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

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E.J. /123 cont./ Many
175 648 of those who refused to accept the yoke of the Japanese fled across the Ssangar Straits to their countrymen on Jesso. The A [167] Japanese had first reached this island in 658 under Prince E.J. Abehirafu and had founded settlements at the mouth of the [361] Siribesi, which, however, were destroyed by the Ainu in 729 (3). Toward the end of the twelfth century (1189) the Japanese general, Jositsune, fled to Jesso and, as Siebold says (4), sowed the first seeds of culture among the Ainu on the east coast. A It was not until the fifteenth century (1443) (5), however, that the Ainu, and, to be sure, first those of southern Jesso, were F.J. brought under the rule of the Mikado. It is not known definitely 175 654 when the Japanese, advancing northward, first crossed over to Sakhalin (Krafto), but at the beginning of the seventeenth century (1605-1622), Kinfiro, the Governor of Matsmai, had already sent out expeditions to make a map of Sakhalin, but they only advanced to Ussijam and Naritari (6) with the greatest difficulties,

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A EJ (177) 3. Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 125.

4. Op. cit., pp. 126, 168.

E.J. ● [114] 5. Not in the fourteenth century, as Siebold, Aardr. en volk. toel., p. 93, says, in contradiction to his statement in Nippon, I, p. 126.

F.J. [113] 6. Kannemon, "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de l'île de Jesso /Jeso-ki, or Description of the Island of Yesso/," transl. from the Japanese by Titsingh (Annales des Voyages, ed. by Malte-Brun, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 162). Likewise, obviously from the same source, Klaproth in the supplement to Rinsifée's San kokf tsou ran to sets,

Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

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6. (cont.) ou Apercu génér. des trois royaumes, Paris, 1832, p. 192. Cf. also Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 126, where the first place is called Usisjam (in Klaproth, and others, also Utsusijam).

and then followed, after a longer interval, the voyages of Mogami Tok'nai and of Mamia Rinsô. Finally, the southern Kuriles /124/ were accidentally discovered no earlier than 1672 by a coastal vessel driven off course (1).

1. Kannemon, "Jeso-ki," op. cit., p. 210; Rinsifée, San kokf tsou ran to sets, p. 209; Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 126.

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The first information on the Ainu, and, to be sure, first on those of Jesso, that Eruopeans collected comes from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We owe it to the Jesuit Fathers Aloisius Froes (1565) and Hieronymus de Angelis (1622), to the representative of the English Trading Company, John Saris (1613), and to the head of the Dutch trade in Japan, Françoys Caron (1639 and 40). A few years later (1643) the Dutch seafarer Vries came into contact not only with the Ainu on Jesso, but also on Sakhalin, in the bays of Aniwa /Aniva/ and Patience, and on the southern Kuriles (2). All the writers named give their notes,

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2. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tart., ed. of 1692, Part 2, pp. 46-62; ed. of 1705, pp. 128-152. Siebold, Aardr., etc., pp. 93 ff. Bickmore, "The Ainos or hairy men of Yesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Islands," pp. 14 ff. (Amer. Journ. of science, May, 1868). The latter says

Ainu AB6

/124 cont./

175 [113] [114] 2. (cont.)
that, according to Krusenstern, Hieronymus de Angelis had come to Sakhalin in 1620, presumably as the first European. I do not know of any place, however, where Krusenstern has said this and I find nothing about it in Siebold.

175 101 [113] [114] in part very interesting, on the Ainu, without designating them by a separate name. The name "Aino" /Ainu/ is found in the European literature for the first time in a work by Eliud Nicolai published in Munich in 1619 (3), in which Jesso, also for the first

3. Newe vnd warhaffte relation, von deme was sich in beederley, das ist, in den West- und Ost- Indien zugetragen /New and true account of what happened in beederley, that is, in the West and East Indies/, etc. (cf. Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 151).

time, is mentioned as a separate island, inasmuch as it is said that all earlier maps commit the error of "omitting above Japan (Nippon) a large island called Jezo by the Japanese, Aino-moxoti (Aino-mosiri, i.e., Aino Island) by the inhabitants." Perhaps this book did not become sufficiently well known or perhaps the name of the people was not surmised from the name of the island; suffice it to say that the Ainu remained without any special designation for some time yet, and even La Pérouse and Broughton, who came in contact with them on Jesso and Sakhalin, have no special name for them (4). Only after

175 101 113 4. Both designate the Ainu only in terms of the respective islands which they inhabit. Thus, Broughton calls the Ainu of Jesso simply the inhabitants of Insu, as they

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1. (cont.)
einer Reise um die Welt, Frankfort on the Main, Vol. I, p. 282.

his explanation is found in the fact that the word "aino" or "ainu" means roughly "human being" among all the inhabitants of Jesso, Sakhalin, and the Kuriles belonging to the same tribe (2).

2. Klaproth, in Langsdorff's Bemerk. etc., p. 282, note, p. 301; the same, Asia polyglotta, pp. 300, 309; San kokf tsou ran to sets, p. 245.

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103 Through Krusenstern's voyage the name "Karafuto, Karafto," or "Krafto," known from several Japanese maps and referring to an island located north of Jesso, was identified with Sakhalin (3).

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3. Krusenstern, op. cit., pp. 49, 52, and others. As early as 1802 the map center in St. Petersburg had published a map on which the island of "Karafuto" was drawn on the basis of a Japanese map which the Japanese, Kodai, whom Ad. Laxmann in 1792 had to bring back to his native country, had brought to Russia (Krusenstern, op. cit., p. 30). In Matsmai, in the possession of a Japanese official, Laxmann saw a map on which Jesso was entered, as well as another island, which bore the name "Karap" (Polonskii, "Kurily." -- Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 493, 541). Shortly before, in 1785 or 1786, Rinsifée's work, San kokf tsou ran to sets, had been published in Jedo /Yedo (Tokyo)/ (translated into French by Klaproth and provided with some notes,

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3. (cont.)

175 103 •119 [113] under the title, San kokf, etc., ou Apercu général des trois royaumes, Paris, 1832), in which (p. 187) there is also mention of the country of "Karafuto" or "Karafto," located north of Jesso and separated from it by a strait. On the maps accompanying the work, this country is represented as a peninsula of the mainland far to the south of the mouth of the Amur, but Rinsifée is not guaranteeing the correctness of this representation, since some geographers simply designated it as an island off the coast of eastern Tattan (Tartary). Moreover, on these maps precisely opposite the mouth of the Amur there is represented a large island stretching from west to east and named "Sagariĩn," about which the Japanese author had perhaps received information from Manchurian or Chinese sources. Thus, northern and southern Sakhalin are torn apart here, and while the former was still only an unknown, faraway island to the Japanese, they looked upon the latter as a nearby country which they thought of, thanks to its trade relations with the Manchu, as a peninsula leading directly to the mainland. The familiarity [113] of the Japanese with the name "Krafto" for Sakhalin can be traced back even further, for in the description of Jesso by Araĩ Tsikugo-no-kami ("Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de Jesso," translated from the Japanese by the late M. Titsingh. -- Annales des Voyages, ed. by Malte-Brun,

Ainu AB6

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3. (cont.) Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, pp. 191, 205), who around 1720 stayed on this island for a long time, it is said that the Ainu there call the island Oku- or Oki-Jesso (Sakhalin) "Krato" or "Karato." Indeed, even earlier the Japanese interpreter, Kannemon, who visited Jesso before 1652, reported that "Krato" or "Kraft" was a province in Tartary from which the inhabitants of Jesso obtained a special type of fabric ("Kraft-ori," evidently Chinese fabrics coming via Sakhalin) (see his "Jeso-ki," likewise translated by Titsingh, op. cit., pp. 162, 164). In this connection it should be noted that it seems to be these two "Jeso-ki" that Klaproth, during his stay in Irkutsk, used to supplement the information concerning Jesso given by Rinsifée in San kokf tsou ran to sets. I conclude this both from the content of his additions to the last-named work, which are almost identical with the two "Jeso-ki," and from the dates when the two descriptions of Jesso used were written (see Klaproth's preface to the San kokf, etc., p. IV). Only the one date (for Kannemon's "Jeso-ki") is given reduced by a century (1752 instead of 1652), probably as the result of a printing error.

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It was regarded as of Japanese /126/ origin (1), but, according to

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1. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 301; Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198.

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175 103 Schmidt, it comes from the Ainu of the neighboring islands, Jesso, Kunaschir /Kunashir/, and Iturup, and has merely been adopted by the Japanese (2). Presumably, therefore, it is also peculiar to the Ainu of Sakhalin (3).

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2. *Petermann's Geogr. Mittheilungen,* 1869, p. 432. The above-mentioned statements by Kannemon and Arai Tsikugo concerning "Krato" and "Kraft" also argue in favor of this being a word foreign to the Japanese and brought to them by the Ainu.

175 ● 114 103 3. Rinsifée (*San kokf tsou*, etc., pp. 187, 284) points out, however, that the true name of the country called Karafuto by the Japanese was "Taraĭkaĭ" or "Tarakaĭ, " whereupon Klaproth (*San kokf*, etc., p. 188, Notes; *Asia polygl*. p. 301) and Siebold (*Nippon*, VII, p. 198) regarded the latter as the indigenous Ainu name for the island. Schmidt (*Petermann's Geogr. Mitthl*., 1869, p. 432) rightly points out, however, that this name probably comes from the village of Taraika located in the Gulf of Patience, which formerly had many trade relations, especially with Manchuria. The latter are of no importance here, however, since the use of the name Tarakaĭ for Sakhalin was started by the Japanese. They had evidently heard the name of this village from the Ainu and erroneously took it for that of the island as a whole. In Kannemon's "Jeso-ki,"

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175 ●114 103 3. (cont.)
Taraika is mentioned as a special place on Krato (*Annales des voyages*, Vol. XXIV, 1814, p. 162), while over a century later Rinsifée uses the name Taraikaĭ for the entire country. In recent times still another [113] [101] name has been given as the Ainu designation for Sakhalin: according to Dobrotworskij ("Ainsko-russk. slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/." -- *Uchen. Zap. Kazansk. Univers.*, 1875, Appendix, p. 32), among the Ainu this island is called "Trepun-mosiri" (Mizul /Mitsul/, in his *Ocherk" ostrova Sakhal. v" sel'sko-khoziaistv. otnosh* /Sketch of Sakhalin Island with Reference to Its Agricultural System/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 126, gives as such a name "Trenun-mussir," or simply "Mussir," that is, island), and accordingly the Ainu from Jesso are said to call their countrymen on Sakhalin "Trepun-mosiri-utara." Finally, it should be mentioned here that besides the above-mentioned names for Sakhalin, the Japanese have many others; it is supposedly called "Narubesi" (*San kokf*, etc., p. 189), "Kita--sima," i.e., island to the north (of Jesso; cf. Siebold, *Nippon*, VII, p. 198), or also simply "Kita-Jeso," northern Jesso (Araĭ Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki," *op. cit.*, p. 205), etc.

175 [101] [177] Even though Vries does not designate the natives in the Gulf of Patience with any special name, there can be no doubt on the basis of his description but that *in fact Ainu were involved*, and not, say, Orok or Gilyak, who, as was shown above, come in contact with the Ainu in that part of Sakhalin, though in small [131] numbers. Thus, we meet this people in 1643, more than two

2: Schrenck--269 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
Kamchadal RY3
Ainu AB6 ●

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with them, and since they moved back and forth between the mainland and the nearest island, and, on the other hand, the Ainu, too -- who, as Steller says, roam about on the sea as the Tartars do on land -- repeatedly came to Kamchatka, a mixed people made up of Italmen and Ainu was formed on the entire southern part of the peninsula and showed many differences in outward appearance and in language from the Kamchadal living farther north (5). It is therefore not surprising that in the beginning the Russians took the inhabitants of southern Kamchatka for the same people as those inhabiting the islands, the Ainu, and designated them, like the latter, with the name "Kuriles" (6).

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5. Steller, op. cit., pp. 7, 23; Krasheninnikov", op. cit., Vol. I, p. 143; Vol. II, p. 4.

6. Hence the contradiction between the earlier assertions by Müller in his article, "Geographie und Verfassung von Kamtschatka aus verschiedenen schriftl. und mündl. Nachrichten gesammlet zu Jakuzk, 1737 /Geography and Organization of Kamchatka from Various Written and Oral Reports Collected in Yakutsk/" (in the appendix to Steller's Beschreibung von Kamschatka /Description of Kamchatka/ and those by Steller and Krascheninnikof. Müller (op. cit., p. 18) has the Kuriles living on Kamchatka along the east coast as far as Awatscha and on the west coast as far as the Kompakowa River; he speaks of Bolscherezki Kuriles (p. 21); he regards the inhabitants of Schumschu, who, moreover, he has coming from the north, as Kuriles just like those on Poromuschir (p. 45), etc. To be sure, for the Kurile

Kamchadal RY3
Ainu AB6

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6. (cont.)
Islands south of Onekotan, Kraschenninikof gives a faithful translation of Müller's remarks, but for the northern ones, as well as for southern Kamchatka, he ignores them completely, since here he was able to rely upon his own experiences and observations, as well as Steller's. Later (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, 1758 p. 79), Müller agreed with the assertions by Steller and Kraschenninikof and declared that it was nothing but "common usage" among the Russians on Kamchatka to call the inhabitants of the first island and of the mainland to the south of Bolscherezk "Kuriles," whereas they were nothing but Kamchadal with a different language dialectally.

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And they carried the same designation, in adjectival form, over to many localities in southern Kamchatka, as is shown by the names Kurilskoje /128/ osero, Kurilskij Ostrog located on an island in the lake named, Kurilskaja Lopatka, etc.

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As for the origin of the name "Kuriles" for the Ainu on the island chain to the south of Kamchatka, among the Russian writers since the days of Golownin it became, I might almost say, a custom to derive the name of the people from that of the islands, and the latter from their smoking volcanoes
080 (kuryashchiyasya sopki) (1). Steller, however, has already

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1. Golovnina, Zap. o prikliuch. ego v" plienu u Iapontsev", v" 1811, 1812 i 1813 g., Pt. III, St. Petersburg, 1816, p. 158; A. Sgibnev", "Bunt" Ben'evskago v" Kamch. v" 1771 g. /The Revolt of Ben'evskii in Kamchatka in 1771/" Russk.

Ainu AB6
Kamchadal RY3

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1. (cont.)
Starina, 1876, March, p. 534).
Polonskij ("Kurily."-- Zap. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 369) went even a step further in that he thought that the name derived from the smoking volcanoes were all the more likely preserved since to the approaching mariner these islands emerged out of the fog in which they were almost constantly wrapped, and thus seemed to be smoking themselves. This derivation of the name "Kuriles" is also repeated in Bickmore's article on the Ainu (Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 18). As an oddity I might give Tronson's assertion that the name Kuriles for the islands came from a lake of the same name (Kurilskoje osero) located in the south of Kamchatka, whose inhabitants had most likely emigrated to the islands (Tronson, Pers. Narrat. of a Voyage to Japan, Kamtsch., Siberia, Tartary, etc. in H. M. S. Barracouta, London, 1859, p. 158).

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Steller, however, has already pointed out that the name Kuriles customary among the Russians for the inhabitants of the like-named islands was connected with the name that the Italmen from Bolschaja reka to Lopatka give to this people and which sounds like "Kuschi" or "Kusi" (2).

2. Steller, op. cit., pp. 6, 7, 30.

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He himself, however, erroneously derives this latter name from a special way of dancing customary among this people, that "Kuschi" would mean something like "dancing" or "jumping" (3).

3. Steller, op. cit., p. 248, note 2.

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G A 101 175 Among their neighbors on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, the Ainu have a quite similar sounding name, "Kughi" (4), which is also in

A [192] general use among the Gilyak of the mainland (5). Undoubtedly all these names have the same origin in that they all, as Klaproth states for the name Kuriles, arose from the word "*kur*" or "*kuru*," which means "human being" in the Ainu language (6).

A F.J. 175 103 A 101 Moreover, the Kurile Islands, as the Japanese Araï Tsikugo noted in 1720 among other valuable reports concerning them, were embraced under the collective name "Kuru-misi" (that is, Land of Man) by the Ainu (7). Here, then, is the simple explanation of that name for the people and the land.

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3. Steller, *op. cit.*, p. 248, note a.

A G [104] 4. I write *gh* when the *g* is strongly guttural, between *g* and *ch*.

G [113] 5. Middendorff heard the Gilyak in Tugur Bay call the Kuriles "Kuwi" (see his travel report in the *Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc.* Vol. IV, pp. 233, 235; also *Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches*, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 615, 618).

A [113] 6. Klaproth, *Asia polyglotta*, p. 300. In *San kokf tsou ran to sets* (pp. 183, 184) "*kur*" is said to mean "tribe /*Stamm*/, *tribus*."

A FJ. 103 175 114 FJ. 113 7. Araï Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de Jesso," *op. cit.*, pp. 192, 207, 211. Cf. also Klaproth's additions to *San kokf tsou ran to sets*, pp. 191, 193, 194, -- following the same Japanese source.

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7. (cont.)
following the same Japanese source. In "Jeso-ki" (p. 211), the Japanese author reports that, according to the inhabitants of Oku-Jesso (Sakhalin Ainu), in the sea to the east there were two islands with the name "Gurumise" and ties this up with the curious conjecture that this information may refer to Greenland, which he had heard of through the Dutch. The editors of the *Annales* for their part make the remark that "Gurumise" probably were the "Goliai" islands to the north of Sakhalin. Obviously by Goliai they mean the island of Giliat, which was mentioned by Witsen on the basis of old Russian reports (see above, p. 250). Both, however, overlooked the obvious, that Guru-misi itself was "Kuru-misi" and therefore the Kurile Islands. The Japanese call the 37 islands between Jesso and "Kamsikattka or Kamsaska" by the name of "Tsi sima," that is, "the thousand islands" (Rinsifée, *San kokf*, etc., pp. 193, 195).

000 explanation of that name for the people and the land.

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/129/ The name customary among the Gilyak for the Ainu also reached the Manchu and Chinese. Iakinf, for instance, on the basis of a Chinese topography, calls the three peoples living on Sakhalin "Fjakã, Eluntschun, and Kuã," the latter of which are undoubtedly the Ainu (1). Similarly, the

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1. Iakinf", *Statistich. Opis. Kitaisk. Imp.* /Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire/, Pt. II, p. 30, note. He is wrong, however, when he gives the Kuã as the inhabitants of the central part of the island

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1. (cont.)
and the Eluntschun (Orok) as those of the southern part, whereas it should be the other way around.

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Similarly, The archimandrite Palladij mentions the "Kuã" (Ainu) among the peoples of Girin Province, from whom formerly, according to Chinese reports, a large tribute in sable furs was collected for the court of Peking (2). We now understand when in the Chinese

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2. Arkh. Palladii, "Dorozhn. zam. na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshch., chrez" Manch'zhuriiu, v" 1870 g. /Travel Notes on the way from Peking to Blagoveshchensk by way of Manchuria in 1870/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399).

imperial geography (3) the "Lerkoje" (4), or, as Pauthier (5)

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3. Tai Tsing hoei tien, Vol. XI; see Ritter, Erdkunde von Asien /Geography of Asia/, Vol. III, p. 444.

4. Ritter adds in parenthesis: "Koje of the maps."

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5. Chine moderne, ou descr. hist., géogr. et litter. de ce vaste empire, Paris, 1853, Part 1, p. 168.

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writes it, "Li-eurh-kou-yé," are named, among others, among the tributary peoples of the Ssan-ssin district. They are the Sakhalin Ainu, for "Laer, Laerch," or "Laer-mif," is the Gilyak name for Sakhalin (6), and "Koje" or "Kuyé" must, after what has been said, refer to the Ainu.

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6. Middendorff, too, heard the name

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6. (cont.)
"Laer" for Sakhalin among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk (see his travel report in the Bullet. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Part IV, p. 233; also Beitr. zur Kenntniss des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 615).

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after what has been said, refer to the Ainu. The exact Gilyak designation for the Sakhalin Ainu would therefore be "Laer-kughi," which closely corresponds to the above name in the Chinese imperial geography (7). Just as the Ainu and Japanese

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7. Might not perhaps also the name "Huyé," which, according to Du Halde (Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 13), several persons in Peking wanted to give to the island of Sakhalin, and about which the Manchu sent to investigate it thought that it was not known to either the natives on the mainland or to those of the island, be only a distortion of the word Kughi or Kuĩ, that is, of the designation for one people of the island?

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borrowed from the Gilyak the designation S'janta for the Goldi (and Olcha), so to the same people do the Manchu and Chinese owe their name for the Ainu. As we shall see later, along with the trade goods that the Gilyak traders carried back and forth between the Ainu and Japanese and the Manchu-Chinese they were also the middlemen among them for those tribal names.

Feudal Japan AB2
Ainu AB6

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1. (cont.) Dutch ambassador to Japan (Ann. des Voyages, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 148). Cf. also Klaproth, in San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes, p. 228, following the same source.

it is said that the natives of this island call the Japanese "Samo." Broughton gives "Ssitscham" (English spelling: "Seecham") as the name of the Ainu from Jesso for the Japanese (2). According to Klaproth, it is "Siyamo" (3). Rimskij-Korssakof (4), Rudanofskij, Schmidt, and others, like I myself, repeatedly heard the Ainu of Sakhalin call the Japanese "Ssisan" and "Ssisam." I know of no specific statement for the Ainu of the Kuriles, but on the basis of the above there can be no doubt but that they, too, have the same designation for the Japanese. And it must certainly be ascribed to a confusion based on a misunderstanding when Krascheninnikof (5) says that the Kuriles designate the Russians

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2. Broughton, A Voyage of discov. to the North. Pacif. Ocean, London, 1804, p. 390. Klaproth evidently repeats the same statement in Langsdorff's Bemerk. auf einer Reise um die Welt, Frankfort on the Main, 1812, Vol. I, p. 303.

3. San kokf tsou ran to sets, p. 247.

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F.J.
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4. V. R.-K., "Sluch. i zamietki na vintov. shkunie 'Vostok"' /Experiences and Notes on the Propeller Schooner 'Vostok'/" (Morsk. Sborn., 1858, No. 5, Unofficial Part, p. 9).

5. "Opis. zemli Kamchatki" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh., Vol. II, p. 6).

Feudal Japan AB2
Ainu AB6

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FJ. /193 cont./
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with the name of "Ssiissian," since this is obviously the same "Ssisan," that is, their name for the Japanese. La Pérouse was also guilty of a similar confusion when he thought he was justified in deducing from the statements of the Ainu of Sakhalin that they call the island of Jesso "Schischa" (French "Chicha") (6).

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6. Voyage de La Pérouse autour du monde, ed. by Milet-Mureau, Paris, year V (1797), Vol. III, pp. 83 ff.

Although he constantly uses this name in this sense in his travel account, he was not wholly certain about it, for in his glossary of Ainu words (7) it is said that Schischa is the name of an island

7. Op. cit., p. 118.

or of a people to the south of Tschoka (Sakhalin). The editor of his travel account, Milet-Mureau, overlooked this latter statement, and since he clung to the idea that Schischa was Jesso, he corrected Krashchenninikof's (he did not know of Steller) abovementioned explanation of the name Schischaman so that it should mean, not "Needle Men" but merely "Men from Schischa" (Jesso), and therefore, not the Japanese, but rather the natives of Jesso, that is, the Ainu, were meant by it/(8). Milet-Mureau was very

8. Op. cit., p. 112, note b.

proud that the French were obliged to disclose the "ignorance" of the Russians concerning the islands neighboring them and to teach them otherwise, but in fact the latter were much closer to the truth, for by "Schischa" the /194/ Ainu of Sakhalin questioned by La Pérouse, since they pointed toward the south, did not mean the island of Jesso (1), but rather, as we may conclude without

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1. It is therefore understandable why Krusenstern (Reise um die Welt, Vol. II, pp. 51, 52) inquired in vain in

Feudal Japan AB2
Ainu AB6●
Kamchadal RY3
Southeast Siberia RX1

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/194 cont./

1. (cont.) Rumjanzof Bay on Jesso, as well as in Aniwa /Aniva/ Bay on Sakhalin, about the names Schischa (which he gives as "Chica" in a literal rendering of the French spelling or perhaps as the result of an oversight or printing error) and Tschoka, with which La Pérouse had labeled these islands.

any doubt from the correspondence of this name to Ssissa and Ssisam, merely to the Japanese coming from there. The "Sühsaman" or "Schischaman" of the Kamchadal are therefore not Ainu from Jesso, but rather, as Steller and Krascheninnikof quite correctly stated, Japanese; but they received this name not from the Italmen word for needle, but, on the contrary, the Kamchadal called the steel needle, because it came from the Japanese, "sühse" or "schisch," i.e., Japanese. On the other hand, they undoubtedly would have had a special term for the bone needle already known to them earlier (2).

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2. That the steel needle and the bone needle, in spite of the fact that they were known to the Kamchadal at different times and were certainly of different shape, were nevertheless supposedly designated with the same term is inconceivable simply because this would presuppose an ability to generalize greater than one finds among a people standing at such a low level of culture.

S.S.
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In conclusion the names with which the Amur peoples designate the Russians should be mentioned. It seems to be the same among all of them throughout. I have always heard the Russians called "Lotscha" by the peoples of the lower Amur region with whom I myself had dealings for a shorter or longer

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III. Ethnographic Part

First Half: Fundamental Conditions and Components of the External Life

Section 4

Slight and uneven density of the indigenous population of the Amur region. Consequences of the devastations of past wars and more recent epidemic diseases. -- Choice and change of dwelling places according to the season of the year. Winter and summer dwellings. Hunting and overnight tents. Storehouses and depositories.

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Before I begin the description of the life and activities of the Amur peoples, I must first say a few words concerning the treatment of the material. Since here it is a matter of my own observations and experiences and my knowledge of the individual Amur peoples, as has already been pointed out in the introduction, is very uneven, the parallel consideration of all the Amur peoples beside one another strictly carried out up to here in the first two parts of this work will have to be curtailed, inasmuch as many of them with whom I had only all too fleeting a contact will have to be excluded from special consideration and mentioned only incidentally and comparatively. A (114) This will be especially true of the Ainu, whose life and activities in recent times, since Japan has become generally accessible to the Europeans, have been described very exhaustively, whereas I became acquainted with them only in passing on Sakhalin. This is likewise the case for the Sungari and the upper Amur peoples, of whom I saw only a few individuals, and for many of the dwellers along the left S.S. 128 tributaries of the lower Amur River. In the following pages, therefore, attention will be concentrated more and more upon the peoples of the lower Amur region and, among them, on the Gilyak in particular.

2: Schrenck--445 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1
Goldi RX3
Ainu AB6

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/318 cont./

Gilyak	in 39 villages (26 on the right bank and 13 on the left)	1400 souls
Manguntsen (Olcha)	in 40 villages (36 on the right bank and 4 on the left)	1300 souls (3)
Goldi	in 114 villages (77 on the right bank and 37 on the left)	3200 souls
Nomadic and dispersed tribes		2000 souls

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3. At another place (in the San Francisco Herald, see Petermann's Geogr. Mitth., 1858, p. 437), Collins, with the same number of villages, gave the number of Gilyak as 1680, that of the Olcha ("Manguntsen") as 1320 persons.

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161 In 1862, Schmidt estimated the total number of the Negda, on the Amgunj as well as on Lake Orell /Orel/ and Lake Tschlja
000 /Chlya/, at not quite 1,000 souls (4). On the basis of notes taken

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4. "Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der Physikal. Abtheil. der Sibir. Exped. der Kais. Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. in d. J. 1859-1862 /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Division of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society during the Years 1859-1862/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 148).

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161 on the basis of notes taken in 1854 and completed in 1857, Rudanofskij reckoned the total population of the Ainu on Sakhalin at 2,479 souls (5). In 1861,

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5. Rudanovskii "Obzor" miestnosti o Sakhalina /Survey of the Country of Sakhalin/" (Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, p. 99).

000 Brylkin gave it as no more than 2,200 souls (6). These statements

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6. Brylkin, "Statist. u. topogr. Nachr. über

RX2
Southeast Siberia RX1
Ainu AB6
Goldi RX3
Olcha

A 161 114 113 /318 cont./

6. (cont.)
das südl. Sachalin /Statistical and Topographical Data on Southern Sakhalin/" (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV, p. 279). At the same time Pemb. Hodgson ("Account of four Excurs. in the Japanese Island of Jesso," in the Literary Gazette of March 16, 1861; cf. Petermann's Geogr. Mitthl., 1861, p. 241) gave the number of Ainu on Jesso as 80,000 (!).

SS 161 114 162 These statements referring to Sakhalin are based upon a rather accurate knowledge of it obtained through many trips in the country. On the other hand, Collins's data, of greater interest to us, are very dubious. Gi [101] They are certainly not based upon counts; rather, they seem to have been obtained by questioning the Russians settled in the Amur region at that time, as /319/ is indicated by the typical Russian name "Manguntsen" for the Olcha. Trustworthy data could probably all the less likely be obtained by this method since, besides the lack of any counts, the territories of the peoples named, of the Olcha in particular, with reference to their northern and southern neighbors, were as a rule erroneously demarcated by the Russians (1). SS 161 114 361 At that time, moreover, people

1. For more details concerning this, see pp. 51 ff. above.

did not realize that in almost every one of these territories there were isolated villages of other nationalities (2). For this reason

G [563] Gi [103] [361]

2. In the Gilyak territory, for instance, the Olcha villages, Tschylwi and Tyr; see above, p. 28.

alone, as well as the necessity for distinguishing summer and winter villages, little value can be put on the number of the villages of various nationalities given by Collins. Moreover,

Ainu ABC

/333 cont./

175 It[1] is in general use among the Ainu, the closest neighbors
342 of the Gilyak. According to Mamia Rinsô's /Rinzô Mamiya/
description (1), the Ainu of southern Sakhalin first dig a pit of 3-4 ken (2) into the ground, then drive in posts at the corners, and over that erect a roof of tree bark and branches which projects over the entrance and thus forms a place in front from which steps lead down into the dwelling. The interior arrangement,
175 too, is very similar to the Gilyak earth yurts, except that the
342 hearth is on one side, next to the steps, and has an opening in
354 the roof over it, whereas only occasionally, when it is especially
352 cold, is a fire made in the middle of the room on the ground
177 between the lateral sitting and sleeping places; this needs to be
171 done only rarely, however, because these dwellings, as Mamia Rinsô expressly stresses, are extremely warm throughout. Rudanofskij (3), Busse (4), Dobrotworskij (5), and others have given

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1. "Tô-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 184).

[114] 2. According to Siebold, 6-8 meters, which would be too deep, however.

[113] [129] 3. In the written notes on his trip through southern Sakhalin in the winter of 1853/54, which he made available to me for my use; the same in Podvigi russk. morsk. ofits. na krain. vost. Rossii 1849-1857 g., posmertnyia zap. admir. Nevel'skago /Feats of a Russian Naval Officer in the Far East of Russia, 1849-1857, Posthumous Notes of Admiral Nevel'skoi/, ed. by V. Vakhtin, St. Petersburg, 1878, p. 296.

[113] 4. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i 54 gg., dnevnik" s" 25. Avg. 1853 -- 19 Maia

[1] [i.e. The earth Yurt -- Analyst]

Goldi RX3
Orok
Ainu AB6

Gi /406 cont./
291 (Figs. 1a-1d) quite similar to what we discovered above in con-
294 nection with the Gilyak, and ibid. (Fig. 10) illustrates an Orok
177 box for fire equipment that is shaped exactly like the peculiar
415 Gilyak mlo. Similarly the implements that I acquired from the
Orok during my fleeting encounter with them in the Tymy Valley
(needle-box, bone picks, etc.) and those that Poljakof brought
home to us from his long stay among them (drills and other instru-
ments, which will be discussed later) cannot be distinguished on the
basis of their form or their decoration from Gilyak specimens of
the same type.

A Aside from the Gilyak in the Gulf of Patience, the Orok
Gi also frequently come in contact with the Ainu, and one might
177 therefore expect to find in their clothing and other activities
291 many an emanation from another center of fashion located in
Japan, but such does not appear as far as I know, evidently because
the oppressed and often impoverished and wretched Ainu are not
in a position to exert such an influence as can the free, relatively
prosperous, active and vigorous Gilyak, who maintain constant
trade relations with the Chinese.

A I myself had too little contact with the Ainu to be able to
291 add anything new to what has already become known from various
177 sources concerning their clothing. It is only to be noted that
[114] though their clothing materials are in many respects the same as
[171] those of their neighbors on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, in particular
[439] dog and seal fur, fish skin, and Chinese cotton cloth brought to
them by the Gilyak, one immediately realizes from the cut of
their clothing that they are under the rule of a different, and, to
A be sure, Japanese, center of fashion. The clothing of the Ainu
291 consists chiefly of two or more dressing gowns /Schlafröcken/ worn
171 one over the other, the outermost of which is sometimes made out
of the above-mentioned fabric woven locally out of nettles or tree
bast, or, in winter, dog skins. Trousers are not always worn,
and as a rule there is no head covering in summer, or else there
serves for that a shallow, conical straw hat of Japanese form. On
their feet the Ainu wear sealskin or fish-skin boots with legs of the
same material of dog skin; for walking trips, shoes plaited out of

G /451 cont./
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4. (cont.)
bands either straight, wavy, and zigzag in form or in a kind of braided work.

essentially wholly similar to pieces of this type found in other regions under similar conditions, here, too, belonged to an early period so far back that it cannot be put into any ethnological relationship with the present. Nevertheless I must add here that the articles found along the Patchā River (see /452/ note 3 on p. 692) were shown to many Gilyak (1) to find out from them

1. As is expressly pointed out in the above-mentioned periodical (Vostochnoe Pomor'e) and elsewhere.

whether they still had similar tools, or any traditions referring to them -- they were completely unfamiliar to them, however.
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Lopatin questioned the Ainu and Orok in Taraika about the stone tools and potsherds found there. The latter, to be sure, declared that during the wars the Ainu had gone into hiding in the earth huts that were formerly on the sites of the present pits, but the Ainu themselves were totally unfamiliar with the stone tools. On the other hand, they told him of a legend which ascribes those objects to a people called Toissi who formerly inhabited these regions but later moved to the north. The remains of the earth huts found near Mogunkotan on the Gulf of Patience, near Cape Ssiraroro, and at other places on Sakhalin are also ascribed to them. Lopatin found this legend throughout part of southern Sakhalin through which he traveled (2).

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2. Since the alleged name of the people from whom, according to the legend, the stone tools and old potsherds are supposed to come actually only means pottery, as can be seen from the above-mentioned statement by Mamia Rinsô concerning the pottery of ("tojes'ju," i. e., earthen pans)

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172 /452 cont./
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2. (cont.)
from the glossaries and dictionaries of the Ainu language (Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, pp. 305, 313; Dobrotworskij, op. cit., pp. 326, 327), it seems to me that the possibility of a misunderstanding in the above information by Lopatin, caused by insufficient knowledge of the Ainu language, is not to be excluded.

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After this digression, upon returning to the discussion of the food of the Amur peoples and passing from the Gilyak to their closer and more distant neighbors, I must first state that with reference to them I shall confine myself chiefly to pointing out the deviations and differences among them, in contrast to the food of the Gilyak, as such are caused by different natural conditions, a different way of life, and by different relations with the neighboring civilized peoples.

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The closest neighbors of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Ainu, are in general no less pronounced ichthyophagi than they, but the significant circumstance with regard to food, which is conditioned by the nature of their region, is that they do not have a single large river in their area on which the population could concentrate in the interior of the region, but rather they only dwell more or less directly on the coast everywhere. In point of fact, of the two largest rivers of Sakhalin, the one, the often mentioned, fish-rich Tymy River, belongs wholly to the Gilyak, and of the other, the Plyi or Poronai (i.e., in Ainu, Great River), the Ainu occupy only the mouth, and this only in common with the Orok and Gilyak. Apart from a couple of somewhat larger rivers that empty into Aniwa Bay, such as the Ssussuja and Truotaga, there are only small coastal rivers in the whole Ainu territory of Sakhalin. /453/ Thus, the actual habitation area of the Ainu on Sakhalin consists

Goldi RX3
Olcha
Ainu AB6

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Gi /569 cont./
325 be overlooked that the Goldi designations for these things have
174 nothing in common with the Gilyak ones. All this seems to sug-
Gi gest that the Goldi obtained their smith's art from a party, that
[177] is to say, from the Manchu-Chinese immediately adjacent to
them, other than the Gilyak, but the Olcha through the latter.

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G On the other hand the following additional facts indicate
325 that the Gilyak owe their knowledge of iron and its treatment
17 to the Japanese. Exactly the same manner of forging iron as
among the Gilyak is also found among the Ainu on Sakhalin.
Mamia Rinsô devotes a special section to this subject in the description of his journey through Krafto (Sakhalin) and a part of the
A lower Amur region (2). In his time (1808) iron-forging was
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2. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 187.

practiced only very little by the Ainu on Sakhalin, indeed, only here and there by a few old people, because the iron tools imported from Japan, which naturally were of much better workmanship, had already been generally disseminated among them. Prior to this, however, they devoted themselves to manufacturing what they needed in iron weapons and utensils themselves, and, to be sure, out of iron which they obtained by barter with the Japanese in Ssiranussi. Mamia Rinsô describes their procedure in forging the iron, and this agrees completely with that described above for the Gilyak: he mentions the two bellows made out of sealskin or fish skins and lying on the ground side by side, the bellows tubes covered or weighted down with earth up to the common opening, the simultaneous participation of two men in the work, etc. Subsequently (3), in speaking of the

3. Ibid., p. 194.

Smerenkur (Gilyak) of Sakhalin, he expressly states that they
A have the same method of forging iron as the Ainu. To be sure,
114 despite the fact that he further notes that the Ainu make the
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A /569 cont./

● 114 325 17 cutting edges of their weapons in Japanese fashion and that in general their method of forging is "approximately the same as in Japan," still Mamia-Rinsô does not draw the obvious conclusion that the Ainu have to thank the Japanese for their knowledge of iron and other metals and the working of them, and, indeed, he maintains instead that they did not learn their manner of forging iron from any other people, but rather seem to have invented it themselves. This should not surprise us, however, because the careful traveler gives in his short and sober report only what was seen and experienced by him and stays away from all categorization and conclusions. A 325 17 It therefore even more establishes beyond doubt that the spread of iron and the art of working it took place from Japan to the Ainu of Jesso and Sakhalin and through them to the Gilyak in a very ancient period, a period which is too far back for any accounts or traditions concerning that event to have been preserved among the Ainu at Rinsô's time.

G 325 17 /570/ Finally, the fact, too, that the Gilyak iron utensils and weapons, knives, spears, and the like are for the most part of the same form as those of the Ainu and that the figures engraved or inlaid in other metals on the more elegant weapons are often reminiscent of Japanese patterns -- as was noted above (1) with reference to the decorations on their clothing and on various wooden and bone implements -- this fact stands in agreement, or at least not in contradiction, with the Japanese origin of the familiarity of the Gilyak with iron and the working of it. There is only one thing that might appear strange at first glance, namely, the fact that the greatest skill of the Gilyak in forging iron is not found on Sakhalin, but on the Amur and therefore in that section of their habitation area which is the farthest from Japan and, on the other hand, is most open to Manchu-Chinese influence. This can be explained, however, on the basis of political conditions. According to Mamia Rinsô's testimony,

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1. See p. 597.

Ainu AB6
Goldi RX3
Orok

A /570 cont./ According to Mamia Rinsô's testimony,
325 the Ainu on Sakhalin gradually lost their skill at forging iron
114 more and more and finally practically gave it up entirely as a
174 result, so he thinks, of being flooded with Japanese ironwork.
648 We must add that this step backwards by the Ainu certainly had another, deeper reason, which the Japanese traveler probably would not or could not mention -- the oppressive bondage in which they found themselves in relation to the Japanese, connected with merciless exploitation by the latter, under which they were bound to sink more and more into poverty, misery,
G
174 and indolence. The Gilyak of Sakhalin, on the other hand, were
in a more favorable situation because of the greater distance
167 of their sites from the Japanese. Thanks to these circumstances
648 and, at the same time, their greater energy and intelligence, they were able to remain independent of them. Indeed, fear of the Japanese and the sad fate which had befallen their neighbors, the Ainu, may have chiefly prompted them to retreat more and more northward on Sakhalin and, finally, even to emigrate, or, in consideration of a more distant past, perhaps more correctly said, to migrate back in large part to the opposite mainland (2).

2. Concerning this emigration or migration back by the Gilyak from Sakhalin to the mainland, see pp. 214 and 247 above /untranslated/.

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174 At any rate, the political independence which they were able to
648 maintain on Sakhalin with regard to the Japanese and in the
325 Amur region with regard to the Manchu-Chinese was a powerful lever for the preservation and increase of their well-being, as well as for the further development of already acquired skills, among them the art of metal forging, and all the more so the more abundantly the springs of their subsistence flowed, as was especially the case along the large and fish-rich Amur River.

Gi Like the Ainu and Gilyak, the third people on Sakhalin,
325 the Orok, also owed their knowledge of iron and the working of
177 it to the Japanese, though they did not obtain it directly from

RX2

Kamchadal RY3

Ainu AB6

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A /572 cont./

439 their eyes, of course, were surrounded with the aura of great
823 wealth and esteem, made those knives, swords, and the like which
186 they themselves (the Ainu) prized so highly and paid for so dearly
A in trade with them. How very much this was the case can be
439 seen from Steller's information that the Kurile Ainu gladly gave
435 20 sea beavers for an old Japanese saber and thought that they
had made a very good trade, but wore such sabers only on festive
days or during festive processions and made "the strangest figures
during the welcoming" with them.

G For the moment it must remain undecided whether the
A above-mentioned iron needles, which came from Japan to the
K Kamchadal as their first iron implements, spread from the latter
439 to their neighbors, the Koryak and the Chukchee, before iron
17 was brought these peoples by the Russians. At any rate, three
325 Paleo-Asiatic peoples, the Ainu, the Gilyak, and the Kamchadal,
received iron from Japan, and this was a natural consequence of
the geographical position of the latter in the vicinity of these
peoples, for just to the north of Nippon, the principal island of
Japan, is the island of Jesso, the principal region of the Ainu (1),

which, in turn, on the one hand, leads to the half-Gilyak
Sakhalin, and, on the other hand, via the chain of the Kuriles,
G to Kamchatka. One may therefore draw the further conclusion
A that at the time when these peoples lived farther in the interior
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● [114]

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1. The view advanced chiefly by Ph. Siebold that the Ainu formerly also inhabited the north of Nippon (see above, p. 255) has recently been attacked by Brauns ("Die Bewohner des Japanischen Inselreichs /The Inhabitants of the Japanese Island-Realm/" in the Jahresber. des Frankfurter Vereins für Geogr. u. Statist., Years 48 and 49, 1883-1884, 1884-1885, Scientific Part, pp. 5 ff).

G /576 cont./

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171 In contrast to the hunting practiced by the Gilyak as described above, that of the other peoples of the lower Amur region shows many characteristic differences in details, as well as in regard to its scope and its importance for their life as a whole.

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224 It almost goes without saying that the greatest correspondence in hunting practices prevails between the two Paleo-Asiatic peoples directly neighboring each other on Sakhalin, the Gilyak and the Ainu. Even in Mamia Rinsô's travel account (1) one finds briefly mentioned for the "Kraftöer," or Ainu of Sakhalin, almost all the methods of catching animals that we have become acquainted with in detail in connection with the hunting practices of the Gilyak: for instance, the snares set on a tree trunk put across a brook like a bridge in order to trap sables and river otters; the clamp-forks (Gilyak kasma) designed for foxes and wolves, the bows which shoot an arrow automatically when a taut string is struck, etc. Concerning the latter, the Japanese traveler reports that the Ainu also use them for the killing of sea otters, with a fish as bait -- a statement that is somewhat doubtful in itself and in any case can only be of historical interest today since the sea otter (Enhydris marina Schreb., Ainu rakko), according to information collected by me and later travelers (2), now hardly appears anymore along the shores of Sakhalin and is known to the inhabitants of it only by name. More trustworthy

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1. "Tô-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 185).

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2. See the first volume of this work, p. 44. Also Nikol'skii, Ostrov" Sakhalin" i ego fauna pozvonoch. zhivotn. /Sakhalin Island and Its Fauna of Vertebrate Animals/ (supplement to Vol. LX of Zap. Imp. Akad. Nauk", No. 5, p. 147).

RX2
Ainu AB6
Goldi RX3
Orok

A /576 cont./ More Trustworthy
224 and of greater interest with respect to the hunting practices of
● 114 the Ainu is the statement by the same traveler that they set up
[192] snares similar to those for the river otter and sable also for the
musk deer (Ainu likun-kamoi), and, to be sure, in accordance
G with its habitat, in the mountain gorges. Accordingly, I am
A inclined to conjecture that this animal is also caught in a similar
224 manner by the Gilyak, though I heard nothing about it among
A them. The Ainu method of hunting larger animals, such as reindeer
[411] and bear, is likewise the same as among the Gilyak, except
that they also use poisoned arrows, which, as /577/ was
A mentioned above, are not found among the latter. The bear
411 pikes, spears, and lances required for hunting are supplied to
439 them, however, since the complete decline of their own forging
325 skill, through barter from the Gilyak, in which those elegant
178 lances with inlaid silver, copper, and brass figures are regarded
as Manchurian -- a view which may be maintained and encouraged
A by the Gilyak out of self-interest. All in all, however,
224 the Ainu are hunters even less than the Gilyak, and, to be sure,
181 not only because they, like the latter, gain their livelihood
433 chiefly from fishing and seal-catching, which certainly give
them a meager subsistence, but also because they are too lazy
648 and, as a consequence of the Japanese yoke burdening them,
too apathetic to procure for themselves the means for a more
abundant and better existence through a more active practice
of hunting fur-bearing animals, easily turned to good account
in trade with the Gilyak.

Gi The situation is different for the other neighbors of the
224 Gilyak on Sakhalin, the Orok. Among them the inclination for
433 hunting peculiar to all Tungusic tribes appears in very obvious
and characteristic ways. Although wedged in in small numbers
between two more powerful, sedentary fishing peoples, they have
remained, as was discussed above in detail, hunting nomads
Gi in their principal concerns and character. Hunting is absolutely
[439] necessary for their livelihood, for though they also occupy themselves
for a period during the year with fishing and seal-hunting
along the seashore and the mouths of the rivers, this is far from
sufficient for their subsistence, and only the hunting diligently

A /621 cont./
175 Manchu language. Rinsô continues his report, "The successors
648 of those first harata and kasinta, accompanied by other natives,
439 from then on annually brought the designated gifts to the officials
622 in Deren. Even today, the most intelligent and most suitable of the natives on the island are appointed as harata and kasinta by the Manchu. Their number is now limited to eight: one harata, in Najoro, and seven kasinta, three of whom are on the west coast and four on the east coast (their names and their places of residence, which are all in the Ainu area, follow). Several years ago, because the furs on Krafto became rarer, the chiefs brought their gifts to Deren only every three years, and with an even greater decline, only every four or five years. But then the Manchu had the stipulated gifts collected by the Santaner, and, as a consequence, this year the kasinta of Usijoro, Najoro, and Raitsiska personally brought the gifts to Deren." Rinsô met these people on their journey there and asked them about the manner in which the gifts were offered. They confirmed for him that the gift consisted of a black sea-otter fur, and at the same time disclosed to him that the Manchu officials had taken it amiss that they had failed to deliver the gifts for a few years and had pointed out to them that in the future they should better appreciate the favor that they had received from the Manchu and should be more careful about bringing the stipulated gifts.

G /622/ It was approximately in the middle of the previous
Gi century, according to these reports, that the Manchu, who had
A formerly come to Sakhalin only to trade, expanded their tribu-
175 tary relationships with the peoples of the lower Amur region,
648 among them the Olcha and Gilyak, to include the Sakhalin
439 Gilyak and the Sakhalin Ainu as well, in that at various places
622 there, too, they appointed chiefs or elders and imposed upon them the obligation of bringing to them at Deren an annual tribute of furs -- an obligation which, to be sure, was not always punctually observed, but was still in full force in Mamia Rinsô's
G time. A few facts noted by European travelers may be cited
Gi to confirm these statements, quite credible in themselves,
A by the, as already noted several times above, extremely accurate
● [114] and reliable Japanese traveler.

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000 and reliable Japanese traveler. Krusenstern (1), for instance,

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1. Reise um die Welt /Voyage around the World/, Vol. II, p. 176.

reported that when he met the Gilyak ("Tatars") in Nadeshda Bay, near the northern tip of Sakhalin (1805) -- as was pointed out above (p. 467), it was probably in the village of Ngywr-wo -- one of them was distinguished from the rest by his clothing, which was a red silk robe of Chinese cut, with gold flowers interwoven in it, and "without doubt" was their chief -- evidently, therefore, one of those harata or kasinta appointed by the Manchu and mentioned by Mamia Rinsô. Of far greater

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175 importance, however, is a second, very definite sounding re-
648 port which we owe to Fr. Schmidt (2). In 1860, in Najoro, he
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2. "Histor. Bericht," etc., p. 94.

became acquainted with one of the most distinguished Ainu, the aged Ssetakurero, upon whom, as an Ainu elder, the Japanese had conferred a saber. He still had in his keeping a document written in the Manchu language, which his father had received at one time from the Manchu superiors on the occasion of a tribute journey to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, and through which

A he was appointed an elder of the Ainu. By means of this report
175 the accuracy of Mamia Rinsô's statements concerning the
114 tributary obligations of the Ainu to the Manchu at that time and
648 the manner in which they had to be met is placed beyond any

doubt. But I cannot refrain from expressing the conjecture that on the basis of the above report there was some misunderstanding on the part of the reporter or the listener with regard to the place to which Ssetakurero's father made his tribute journey, in that this journey was not made to Ssan-ssin on the Sungari, but, as must be assumed from the dates, to Deren on the Amur. Such a misunderstanding could arise all the more easily since Ssetakurero, according to his own words, had himself never been in Manchu country.

G /734 cont./

*796 184 northern part of the Sea of Japan, the Sea of Okhotsk, and in the Tymy Valley, as a result of their greater remoteness and poorer circumstances, as well as their smaller and less suitable dwellings, the bear festival has remained far behind the development that it reached among their fellow-tribesmen on the Amur, where on such occasions inhabitants of various, sometimes even remote villages flock together, and animated life and activity prevail among them, and that therefore it does not have nearly as much social significance among the former as among the latter.

A 175 796 /735/ For the purpose of comparison let us now cast a glance at the bear festival of the Ainu of Sakhalin and Jesso /Yesso/. Isolated reports about it reach back to the seventeenth century and A 796 114 in the Japanese literature perhaps even much further. Detailed accounts of the whole festival have been given by Dr. B. Scheube with regard to the Ainu of Jesso (1) and by Messrs. Rudanofskij (2)

A [113] 1. Dr. B. Scheube, "Bärenkultus und Bärenfeste der Aino /The Bear Cult and Bear Festival of the Ainu/" (Das Ausland, 1881, No. 16, pp. 303-308, from the Mittheil. der deutsch. Gesellsch. für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens, 1880, No. 22.

A [113] 2. See P. Tikhmenov", Istor. obozr. obraz. Rossiisko-amerik. Kompanii /Historical Review of the Founding of the Russo-American Company/, St. Petersburg, 1863, Pt. II, pp. 125-127.

and Busse (3) with regard to those of Sakhalin. The former attended

A [113] 3. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853-54 gg. /Sakhalin Island and the Expedition of 1853-54/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 54-57.

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the festival in the little village of Kunnui located on Vulkan Bay, and the latter observed it in the village of Ssussuja, which lies on the river of the same name emptying into Aniwa /Aniva/ Bay.

[776] Although the Ainu confer upon the bear the epithet "god," in that they call it Kimui-Kamui, or, according to Siebold, Hokjok-Kamui (4), and although they regard it, according to Dobrotworskij, as a son of the god of the mountains and forest or wilderness (Ainu nuburi-kamui (5) and treat it with superstitious fear and veneration, this does not in the least prevent them from killing and eating it -- but in doing so certain traditional customs and formalities must be observed in order to rid themselves of guilt and to avoid the revenge of its manes. Dr. Scheube, to be sure, 796 182 [114] thinks that the motive for both the bear festival (jomante) of the Ainu (6) and the fattening of the young bear preceding it is expiation, which is offered to the entire race of bears for the misdeed committed against it by them, but I cannot agree with this opinion [781] at all. In view of the utilitarian viewpoint toward everything, which is characteristic of the Ainu, too, I am more inclined to

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[113] 4 Scheube, loc. cit.. Siebold, Aardr.- en volkenk. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Vries /Geographical and Ethnological Explanations to the Discoveries of Van Vries/, p. 110.

[113] 5. M. Dobrotvorskii, "Ainsko-russkii slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/," supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imper. Kazansk. Univers., 1875, p. 41.

6. According to Mamia Rinsô, among the Ainu of Jesso the bear festival is called omsia. C. Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 189, 203.